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THE

THEOLOGICAL

AND

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF THE LATE REV.

WILLIAM JONES, M.A.

MINISTER OF NAYLAND, SUFFOLK.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF HIS

LIFE AND WRITINGS

BY WILLIAM STEVENS, ESQ.

A NEW EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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A

PREFATORY EPISTLE

TO

WILLIAM STEVENS, ESQ.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE works of the late Bishop Horne are in many hands, and will be in many more. No reader of any judgment can proceed far into them, without discovering that the author was a person of eminence for his learning, eloquence, and piety; with as much wit, and force of expression, as were consistent with a temper so much corrected and sweetened by devotion.

To all those who are pleased and edified by his writings, some account of his life and conversation will be interesting. They will naturally wish to hear what passed between such a man and the world in which he lived. You and I, who knew him so well and loved him so much, may be suspected of partiality to his memory; but we have unexceptionable testimony to the greatness and importance of his character. While we were under the first impressions of our grief for the loss of him, a person of high distinction, who was intimate with him for many years, declared to you and to me, that he verily believed him to have been *the best man he ever knew*. Soon after the late Earl of Guildford was made Chancellor of the University of Oxford, another great man, who was allowed to be an excellent judge of the weight and wit of conversation, recommended Dr. Horne, who was then vice-chancellor, to him in the following terms; "My Lord, I question whether you know your vice-chancellor so well as you ought; When you are next at Oxford, go and dine with him; and, when you have done this once, I need not ask you to do it again; you will find him the pleasantest man you ever met with." And so his lordship seemed to think (who was himself as pleasant a man

as most in the kingdom) from the attention he paid to him ever after. I have heard it observed of him by another gentleman, who never was suspected of a want of judgment, that, if some friend had followed him about with a pen and ink, to note down his sayings and observations, they might have furnished out a collection like that which Mr. Boswell has given to the public; but frequently of a superior quality; because the subjects which fell in his way were occasionally of an higher nature, out of which more improvement would arise to those that heard him: and it is now much to be lamented, that so many of them have run to waste *.

An allusion to the life of Dr. Johnson, reminds me how much it was wished, and by Dr. Horne in particular, who well knew and highly valued him, that Johnson would have directed the force of his understanding against that modern paper-building of philosophical infidelity, which is founded in pride and ignorance, and supported by sensuality and ridicule. A great personage was of opinion, that Johnson, so employed, would have borne them down with the weight of his language; and he is reported to have expressed his sentiment with singular felicity to a certain person, when the mischievous writings of Voltaire were brought into question: "I wish Johnson would mount his dray-horse, and ride over some of those fellows." Against *those fellows* Dr. Horne employed much of his time, and some of the most useful of his talents: not mounted upon a dray-horse to overbear them; but upon a light courser to hunt them fairly down; with such easy arguments, and pleasant reflections, as render them completely absurd and ridiculous: an account of which will come before us in the proper place. His *Considerations on the Life and Death of St. John the Baptist*, and his Sermon preached in St. Sepulchre's church at London, for the benefit of a Charity-school for girls, on the *Female Character*, seem to me, above all the rest of his compositions, to mark the peculiar temper of his mind, and the direction of his thoughts. When I read his book on *John the Baptist*, I am persuaded, there was no other man of his time, whose fancy, as a writer, was bright enough, whose

* A collection of his thoughts on various subjects is preserved in a manuscript, written with his own hand.

skill, as an interpreter, was deep enough, and whose heart, as a moralist, was pure enough to have made him the author of that little work. His Female Character, as it stands in the sermon above-mentioned, now printed in his fourth volume, displays so much judgment in discriminating, such gentle benevolence of heart, and so much of the elegance of a polished understanding, in describing and doing justice to the sex; that every sensible and virtuous woman, who shall read and consider that singular discourse, will bless his memory to the end of the world.

While we speak of those writings which are known to the public, you and I cannot forget his readiness and excellence in writing letters; in which employment he always took delight from his earliest youth; and never failed to entertain or instruct his correspondents. His mind had so much to communicate, and his words were so natural and lively, that I rank some of his letters among the most valuable productions of the kind. I have therefore reason to rejoice, that, amidst all my interruptions and removals, I have preserved more than a hundred of them; in reviewing of which I find many observations on the subjects of Religion, Learning, Politics, Manners, &c. which are equally instructive and entertaining; and would certainly be so esteemed, if they were communicated to the world; at least, to the better part of it: for there were very few occurrences or transactions of any importance, either in the church, or the state, or the literary world, that escaped his observation; and in several of them he took an active part. But in familiar letters, not intended for the public eye (as none of his ever were) and suggested by the incidents of the time, some of them trivial and domestic, there will be of course many passages of less dignity than will entitle them to publication: yet, upon the whole, I am satisfied that a very useful selection might be made out of them; and I will not despair of making it myself at some future opportunity *.

From an early acquaintance with Greek and Latin authors, and the gift of a lively imagination, he addicted himself to poe-

* In the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1793, p. 688, I threw out a letter of Bishop Horne, as a specimen both of the style and of the usual subjects of his epistolary writings. It was the first that came to hand on opening a large parcel of them: and I may leave every reader to judge whether that letter be not curious and important. Compared with the present times, it seems prophetical.

try; and some of his productions have been deservedly admired. But his studies were so soon turned from the treasures of classical wit to the sources of Christian wisdom, that all his poetry is either upon sacred subjects, or upon a common subject applied to some sacred use; so that a pious reader will be sure to gain something by every poetical effort of his mind.

And let me not omit another remarkable trait of his character. You can be a witness with me, and so could many others who were used to his company, that few souls were ever more susceptible than his of the charms of music, especially the sacred music of the church: at the hearing of which, his countenance was illuminated; as if he had been favoured with impressions beyond those of other men; as if heavenly vision had been superadded to earthly devotion. He therefore accounted it a peculiar happiness of his life, that, from the age of twenty years, he was constantly gratified with the service of a choir; at Magdalen College, at Canterbury, and at Norwich. His lot was cast by Providence amidst the sweets of cloystered retirement, and the daily use of divine harmony; for the enjoyment of both which he was framed by nature, and formed by a religious education. Upon the whole I never knew a person, in whom those beautiful lines of Milton *, of which he was a great admirer, were more exactly verified:

> But let my due feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloyster's pale;
> And love the high embower'd roof
> With antique pillars massy proof;
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.
> There let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full voic'd quire below;
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may, with sweetness through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstasies,
> And bring all heaven before my eyes.

You, who are so perfectly acquainted with the discourse delivered at Canterbury, 1784, when the new organ was opened in the great church, may guess how refined his raptures were: by what he has there said, it may be known what he felt.

* In the *Il Penseroso*.

And I can assure you farther, he was so earnest in this subject, that he took the pains to extract, in his own hand-writing, all the matter that is most observable and useful in the five quarto volumes of Sir John Hawkins upon music. I find among his papers this curious abridgment, which is made with critical taste and discernment.

But his greatest affection being to the science of divinity, he would there of consequence make the greatest improvements; and there the world will find themselves most obliged to him. No considerable progress, no improvement in any science, can be expected, unless it be beloved for its own sake. How this can happen in divinity, all men may not be able to see: but it is possible for the eye of the understanding to be as truly delighted with a sight of the divine wisdom in the great œconomy of redemption and revelation, as for the eye of the astronomer to take pleasure in observing the lights of heaven, or the naturalist in exploring and collecting, perhaps at the hazard of his life, the treasures of the natural creation. What I here say will be best understood by those, who know what affection, what animation, is found in the first writers of the Christian church; with what delight they dwell upon the wonders of the Christian plan, and comment upon the peculiar wisdom of the word of God. To the best writers of the best ages he put himself to school very early, and profited by them so much, that I hope no injustice will be done to their memory, if I think he has in some respects improved upon his teachers.

A man with such talents, and such a temper, must have been generally beloved and admired; which he was almost universally; the exceptions being so few, as would barely suffice to exempt him from that *woe* of the Gospel, which is pronounced against the favourites of the world. But his undisguised attachment to the doctrines of the Church of England, which are still, and, we hope, ever will be, of the *old fashion*, would necessarily expose him to the unmannerly censures of some, and the frigid commendations of others, which are sometimes of worse effect than open scandal. But he never appeared to be hurt by any thing of this sort that happened to him. An anonymous pamphlet, which the public gave to the late Dr. Kennicott, attacked him very severely; and soon received an answer from him; which, though very close and

strong, was the answer of a wise and temperate man. He also, in his turn, not foreseeing so much benefit to the Scriptures, as some others did, from Dr. Kennicott's plan for collating Hebrew manuscripts, and correcting the Hebrew text, wrote against that undertaking; expressing his objections and suspicions, and giving his name to the world, without any fear or reserve. But so it came to pass, from the moderation and farther experience of both the parties, that, though their acquaintance began in hostility, they at length contracted a friendship for each other, which brought on an interchange of every kind office between them, and lasted to the end of their lives, and is now subsisting between their families. To all men of learning, who mean well to the cause of truth and piety, while they are warmly opposing one another, may their example be a lasting admonition! But let not this observation be carried farther than it will go:

——————————Non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.

In his intercourse with his own family, while the treasures of his mind afforded them some daily opportunities of improvement, the sweetness of his humour was to them a perennial fountain of entertainment. He had the rare and happy talent of disarming all the little vexatious incidents of life of their power to molest, by giving them some unexpected turn. And occurrences of a more serious nature, even some of a frightful aspect, were treated by him with the like ease and pleasantry; of which I could give some remarkable instances.

Surely, the life of such a man as this ought not to be forgotten. You and I, who saw and heard so much of it, shall, I trust, never recollect it without being the better for it: and, if we can succeed in shewing it so truly to the world, that they also may be the better for it, we shall do them an acceptable service. I have heard it said, and I was a little discouraged by it, that Dr. Horne was a person, whose life was not productive of *events* considerable enough to furnish matter for a history. But they, who judge thus, have taken but a superficial view of human life; and do not rightly measure the importance of the different events which happen to different sorts of men. Dr. Horne, I must allow, was no circumnavigator: he neither sailed with Drake, Anson, nor Cooke; but he was

a man, whose mind surveyed the intellectual world, and brought home from thence many excellent observations for the benefit of his native country. He was no military commander; he took no cities; he conquered no countries; but he spent his life in subduing his passions, and in teaching us how to do the same. He fought no battles by land or by sea; but he opposed the enemies of God and his truth, and obtained some victories which are worthy to be recorded. He was no prime minister to any earthly potentate; but he was a minister to the King of Heaven and Earth: an office at least as useful to mankind, and in the administration of which no minister to any earthly king ever exceeded him in zeal and fidelity. He made no splendid discoveries in natural history; but he did what was better: he applied universal nature to the improvement of the mind, and the illustration of heavenly doctrines. I call these *events*: not such as make a great noise and signify little; but such as are little celebrated, and of great signification. The same difference is found between Dr. Horne and some other men who have been the subject of history, as between the life of a bee, and that of the wasp or hornet. The latter may boast of their encroachments and depredations, and value themselves on being a plague and a terror to mankind. But let it rather be my amusement to follow and observe the motions of the bee. Her journies are always pleasant; the objects of her attention are beautiful to the eye, and she passes none of them over without examining what is to be extracted from them: her workmanship is admirable; her œconomy is a lesson of wisdom to the world: she may be accounted *little among them that fly*, but the fruit of her labour is the *chief of sweet things*.

You know, Sir, to what interruptions my life has been subject for thirty years past, and there is some tender ground before us, on which I am to tread as lightly as truth will permit; you will pardon me therefore if my progress hath not been so quick as you could have wished; and believe me to be, as I have long been,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and

obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

In publishing the Memoirs of the Life of Bishop Horne, my intention was only to give a true idea of that good man, as it presented itself to my memory and affections; and to produce an edifying book, rather than a formal history. I flatter myself it has done some good; and I hope it may do more. If any offence has been given, I can only say it was no part of my plan: but it is a common fault with plain Christians, who know little of the world, to tell more truth than is wanted; and they have nothing left but a good conscience to support them under the mistake.

Some few exceptions have been made to the performance by little cavillers, which are not worth mentioning: but I brought myself into the most serious difficulty of all, by representing Bishop Horne as an *Hutchinsonian;* which thing (it seems) ought not to have been done; as it was strongly suggested to me, from the late learned *Doctor Farmer*, while my work was in hand. On this matter I beg leave to explain myself a little. I never said, nor did I ever think, that Bishop Horne owed every thing to *Hutchinson*, or was his implicit follower. I knew the contrary: but this I will say, because I know it to be true, that he owed to him the *beginning* of his extensive knowledge; for such a beginning as he made placed him on a new spot of high ground; from which he took all his prospects of religion and learning; and saw that whole road lying before him, which he afterwards pursued, with so much pleasure to himself, and benefit to the world. This declaration, however clear it may be to me, is more than some of my readers will be willing to admit, or able to bear. I perceive, by what has been written, that, if it can be effected, Bishop Horne must be taken away from the Hutchinsonians: or, if that cannot be

done, his character must not be *set too high;* we must beware of *exaggeration;* he must be represented as *good* and *pious*, rather than *wise* or *great*. This comes not from the *truth*, but from the *times:* and it is what we must expect to hear, till the times shall alter, and a few stumbling-blocks shall be removed out of the way. After what I had related, with so little disguise, concerning the studies of Doctor Horne, I could foresee that his character, excellent as it is, had a fiery trial to pass: I therefore prepared myself to see—what I have seen.

But, while I heard some things which were unpleasant, I heard others which gave me encouragement. For, though it was commonly reported, that I had bestowed too many words upon a cause which neither required nor deserved them, one of the wisest men of this age, who is an host of himself, wished I had said more; it being a cause of which the world *heard* much, but *knew* little, and *wanted* to know more. I shall take this opportunity of satisfying their curiosity as faithfully as I can.

But I find myself called upon, by the way, to justify the Bishop against an unexpected accusation of a late author; who charges him with *fancifulness* and *presumption:* for what reason, and with how much justice, learning, and judgment, we shall see presently: and I am glad this second edition was deferred, because the delay has given me an opportunity of seeing some things, of which I ought not to be ignorant.

In a *New Biographical Dictionary*, a life of Doctor Horne is inserted; the author of which speaks of him with as much caution, as a man would handle hot coals. For what he is pleased to say of *me*, as a writer of Doctor Horne's life, I am much obliged to him; and I think it more than I deserve or desire: but, I should be false to the Bishop's memory, were I to allow his account of *him* to be either just or true. He gives him the praise of being a *blameless* man! (cold enough!) when, they that have eyes to see, and judgment to discern, must discover him to be, both for matter and manner, one of the first orators and teachers this church can boast; and that he often displays a rich vein of wit, rarely indeed to be found in a man of so much sweetness and good temper. What a poor figure does *Priestley* make in the hands of the *Under-graduate!* And the great philosopher, *Hume*, in the letter to Dr. Adam Smith! Where the Bishop is reflected upon, for being an *Hutchinsonian*, it is al-

lowed, nevertheless, that he might be partly right in his natural philosophy; though I do not understand the biographer's method of making it out; and I question whether he understood it himself. But then it is added, that "if he proceeded to a supposed analogy between material and immaterial things, and compared the agency of the Son and Holy Ghost to that of light and air in the natural world; it will surely be thought, that he went upon very uncertain and fanciful, not to say, presumptuous grounds." I thank him for speaking out. But is this true divinity? Is there then no analogy between things natural and divine? And have I been beating the air, and writing a volume, to prove and explain it, and demonstrate the great use and value of it; and has this author discovered at last, that there is no such thing? How mortifying is it to me to hear, that so much of the labour of my life has been thrown away! This analogy, which he will not suffer Bishop Horne to *suppose*, without being *fanciful* and *presumptuous*, has been admitted and insisted upon, as plain and certain, by the best Divines of the Christian Church; who used it, and admired it, because they found it in the word of God: and it holds particularly in the two great objects of nature *air* and *light*, where this *modern* divine (for such I suppose him) cannot see it himself, and will not permit us to see it without him. Was not the presence of the Divine Spirit, on the day of Pentecost, announced to the senses of men by the *sound of a rushing, mighty wind?* Did not our Saviour, in his discourse with Nicodemus, illustrate the agency of the Divine Spirit by that of the natural? *The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.* Why did he communicate the Holy Ghost under the outward sign of *breathing* upon them, if no comparison is to be made between the sign and the thing signified? The word *inspiration*, which is the act of the Holy Ghost, denotes a blowing or breathing as of the air; and the name *Spirit* is common to the natural air and to the Holy Ghost. What is the meaning of all this? Does the word of God make comparisons, and put one thing for another; and shall we say there is no analogy or likeness: that is, no sense or propriety in the substitution? That would indeed be presumptuous, if not blasphemous: and the author would not have entangled himself in this manner, if he had not

been frightened out of his wits at *Hutchinsonianism!* But after all, to those who search for it, the analogy must instantly discover itself; and it hath been pointed out to us without reserve by a Divine of the *old* school, Bishop *Andrews:* who was in no fear of being called to an account for it by the learned of that age. In his first discourse, on the descent of the Holy Ghost, he has these words: "The wind, which is here the type of the Holy Ghost, doth of all creatures best express it: for, of all bodily things, it is the least bodily, and even invisible, as a Spirit is. It is *mighty* or violent; seemingly of little force, and yet of the greatest: but never so vehement as the Spirit is in its proceedings. As the wind serveth for breath, so doth the Spirit give life, and is called the Spirit of life. As it serveth for speech, so doth the Spirit give utterance: and, as the one serveth for sound, so by the other the sound of the Apostles went out into all lands." This, and more to the same purpose, saith Bishop *Andrews;* and I call this true Divinity: he was in no fear about types and analogies: he finds the analogy as strict, as if the air had been created for this use. And what Christian, who reads his Bible, will find fault with Bishop *Horne,* if he thought, and preached, as Bishop *Andrews* did before him? The one was the delight of his times; and the other may continue to be the delight of our times; notwithstanding the censures which have been thrown out against him, with so little experience, that I am ashamed for the author of them.

The other great object of nature, where the analogy is not permitted to us, is that of the *light;* but it holds in this case as strictly as in the other: for our Saviour calls himself the *true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;* and a Prophet calls him *the Sun of Righteousness.* All the men of this world, who have light, have it from the same sun; and all, that have the light of life, have it from the same Saviour. And the operations and attributes of the true light in the kingdom of Grace are the same as those of the light in the natural world. We took the authority of Bishop *Andrews* in the former example; we may now take that of Archbishop *Leighton* *; who sees the analogy between the natural and divine light:—first, in their *purity;* both are incapable of pollution: secondly in

* See Sermon fifth of Archbishop Leighton's eighteen.

their *universality;* both are imparted to all, without being diminished: thirdly, in their *vivifying power;* the one raises plants and vegetables from the earth, and the other raises men from the dead: fourthly, in their *dispelling darkness;* all shadows fly before the sun; all the types and shadows of the law, all the mists of darkness and idolatry, at the appearance of the other, who is the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of Israel; even that glory which had been so often fore-shewed to them: for as the glory was in their tabernacle and filled it, so the *fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily in Christ:* εσκηνωσεν εν ἡμιν, —he *dwelt in a tabernacle* amongst us. Is not this a just and beautiful analogy? And can there be any man of taste, who will not see and admire it? Is the Scripture *fanciful* in teaching it? And is this good Bishop *presumptuous* in following it? It is a grief to me to be urging so many questions in so plain a case: but wise men lay us under a cruel necessity, when they are in such a hurry to run away from doctrines, which they call *Hutchinsonian,* without knowing that they have been common to the Christian world; and that every *master in Israel* (supposing this gentleman to be of that character) is expected to have acquired, from a proper study of the Scripture, that experience which makes all these things plain, and enables us to see the spiritual in the natural world; the glass in which (δια, by means of which *) God hath been pleased to shew us *that* and *Himself,* till we shall see him face to face; and not, as we do now, by reflection from the objects of nature. All, who do not know the use of this grand *speculum,* are under the poverty of ignorance; they lose a great help to their faith, together with a great instrument for the improving of their understanding; at least in spiritual things. What would divinity be, and what can a teacher of it be, without the use of analogies, and the power we acquire, when we argue from them? They are so universal in the Scripture, that a man may as well read English without the alphabet, as read the Bible without understanding its analogies. They are, therefore, never to be given up, but

*δι' εσοπτρου εν αινιγματι—Though the preposition δια is here used, we do not suppose with our English version that the allusion is to dioptrics, but catoptrics; so εσοπτρον is a *speculum,* wherein things are seen by reflection.

to be insisted upon, and recommended to others, as the very life and soul of Christian wisdom *.

I would willingly have avoided a party *name*, being conscious that I am not a party *man;* but disposed to exercise an independent judgment, and take what is good and useful from every quarter where I can find it; either for my own benefit, or that of the public. If I can do good, I am willing to do it under any character which an honest man may wear. But my adversaries (who are not a few) have found such an advantage, for many years past, in giving me the name of an *Hutchinsonian*, that they will never part with it. So, as I am stamped with that name, I may speak freely, without losing any ground. Too many of the learned have shown an unusual propensity, for many years, to censure and reject every principle reported to be *Hutchinsonian*, without first knowing what it is, and what is to be said for it. The Biographer, against whom I have defended Bishop *Horne*, attacks him as an Hutchinsonian, without knowing, that he was making his attack on that quarter where the Hutchinsonians are strongest: and this, not with weak arguments, but no arguments at all; unless we can find one in the words—*it will surely be thought*—which is not an argument, but an appeal to the judgment of others, who are under the same prejudice with himself. To prevent which for the time to come, and to satisfy those, who, having heard some things to perplex them, would be glad of better information; I shall tell them, as well as I can, what the principles really are, by which an Hutchinsonian is distinguished from other men. But when I consider, that this inquiry will lead us into some great, deep, and difficult subjects—of which no man can speak worthily—and of which so many have spoken rashly—I tremble at my undertaking; and intreat every wise and good man to make allowances for me, at a stage of life, when forces fail, and memory is weak; and to give me a fair and charitable hearing.

1. In the first place, the followers of Mr. Hutchinson give to *God* the pre-eminence in every thing. *His* authority with them is above all authority: His wisdom above all wisdom: His truth above all truth. They judge every thing to be good or bad, wise or foolish, as it promotes or hinders the belief of

* For the Bishop's sentiments on this subject, see the Life, near the conclusion.

Christianity. On which account, their first enemies are to be found among sceptics, infidels and atheists. Their next enemies are those who are afraid of believing too much: such as our Socinians and their confederates, who admit Christianity as a *fact*, but deny it as a *doctrine*.

2. They hold, that only one way of salvation has been revealed to man from the beginning of the world; viz. the way of faith in God, redemption by Jesus Christ, and a detachment from the world: and that this way is revealed in both Testaments.

3. That in both Testaments divine things are explained and confirmed to the understandings of men, by allusions to the natural creation. I say *confirmed;* because the Scripture is so constant and uniform in the use it makes of natural objects, that such an analogy appears between the sensible and spiritual world, as carries with it *sensible evidence* to the truth of revelation; and they think, that, where *this* evidence is once apprehended by the mind, no other will be wanted. They are therefore persuaded, it may have great effect towards making men Christians, in this last age of the world; now the original evidence of miracles is remote, and almost forgotten.

4. They are confirmed *Trinitarians*. They became such at their baptism in common with other Christians; and they are kept such, by their principles; especially by what is called the *Hutchinsonian philosophy of fire, light, and air*. Nature shews us these three agents in the world, on which all natural life and motion depend: and these three are used in the Scripture to signify to us the three supreme *powers* of the Godhead, in the administration of the spiritual world; notwithstanding the judgment which our new biographer hath passed against them. Let any philosopher shew us one single effect, of which it may be proved, that neither fire, light, nor air, contribute to it in any of their various forms *.

* To shew how differently the same things will appear to different men, and how men of learning, through habits of thinking, may be unprepared to judge of common things, I will mention the example of my own Tutor of University College in Oxford; who, having been persuaded to read a little piece of Duncan Forbes on the system of Hutchinson, (which by the way I would recommend to the reader) was heard to say "there were some good things and some curious things in it; but *the man raves* when he talks of his *fire, light* and *spirit*." Now herein is to me a marvellous thing, that Learning, seated in the chair of *Alfred*, should take this doctrine of fire, light and air to be *raving;* when Ignorance, with a tallow candle

5. On the authority of the Scriptures, they entertain so low an opinion of human nature, under the consequences of the fall, that they derive every thing in religion from revelation or tradition. A system may be fabricated, and called *natural*; but a *religion* it cannot be; for there never was a religion, among Jews or Gentiles, Greeks, Romans, or Barbarians, since the beginning of the world, without sacrifice and priesthood: of which natural religion, having neither, is consequently no religion. The imagination of man, by supposing a religion without these, has done infinite disservice to the only religion by which man can be saved. It has produced the deistical substitution of naked morality, or Turkish honesty, for the doctrines of intercession, redemption, and divine grace. It has no *gift* from God, but that nature, which came poor, and blind, and naked out of Paradise; subject only to farther misery, from its own lusts, and the temptations of the Devil. A religion, more flattering to the pride of man, pleases his fancy better than this; but it will never do him any good.

in his hand, need only light it, to see them all at work together. Air enters at the bottom, where the flame looks blue: fire and smoke from the snuff are at the top, and the brightest light is about the middle. No man can draw a line between them, or say where one ends and another begins. But here they are certainly; for, without air, the candle goes out: without fire, it will not burn us: and, without light, we shall not see by it. And all this is no theory, but a plain, undeniable matter of fact. How wonderful, that a philosopher cannot see this; when a child or a ploughman may be made to understand it! Two strange events of the same kind are more credible than one. The people among the Jews, who *knew* most, were those who could *see* least.

When the good Lord President Forbes wrote his letter from Scotland, there were rocks and mountains in his way; and he had the mortification to see that he prevailed but little. These are now not nearly so formidable as they were then: great and unexpected events have intervened. Infidelity, the grand adversary, hath now overshot its mark; and is found to have in it so much more of the felon, than the philosopher, that gentlemen begin to be ashamed of its company. Its opponents are inspired with new zeal, and act with new vigour; as may be seen in two periodical publications of modern date. Attraction is going down; and the demonstration of a *vacuum* is not to be supported; as I shall shew in another place. Electricity hath risen up, and given us the knowledge of a new power in nature, which is an object of sense, and may be extended to the whole system of the world. Lord Forbes's letter to a Bishop was written with the best intention in the world; but, when a scheme is *new*, and admitted in all its parts, more weight is laid upon some things, than they will bear. He tells his reader many curious things, for which I have not room; neither would I choose to introduce them, because they depend on *Hebrew* evidence.

Hutchinson himself had so strong a sense of this, that he looked upon natural religion as Deism in disguise; an engine of the Devil, in these latter days, for the overthrow of the Gospel; and therefore boldly called it *the religion of Satan or Anti-christ.* Let the well-informed Christian look about him and consider, whether his words, extravagant as they may seem at first, have not been fully verified. I myself, for one, am so thoroughly persuaded of this, that I determined never to give quarter to natural religion, when it falls in my way to speak of the all-sufficiency of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We know very well how the Scripture is brought in to give its countenance to the notion of a natural religion: but we know also that dark texts are drawn to such a sense, as to render all the rest of the Scripture of no effect; as hath happened in the doctrines of pre-destination and natural religion; by the former of which we lose the *Church*, by the latter its *Faith.* Facts bring a dispute to a short issue. If *Voltaire* were alive, I would be judged by him, whether Christianity hath not been going down ever since natural religion came up. And we know, by what his disciples, the French, have done, that natural religion comes up, when Christianity is put down. These facts teach us, that they will not stand long together. Whether they possibly *might* or not is not worth an inquiry; because he, that has got Christianity, may leave natural religion to shift for itself.

6. Few writers for natural religion have shewn any regard to the types and figures of the Scripture, or known much about them. But the Hutchinsonians, with the old Christian Fathers, and the Divines of the Reformation, are very attentive to them, and take great delight in them. They differ in their nature from all the learning of the world; and so much of the wisdom of revelation is contained in them, that no Christian should neglect the knowledge of them. All infidels abominate them. *Lord Bolingbroke* calls St. Paul a *Cabbalist* for arguing from them; but the Hutchinsonians are ambitious of being such Cabbalists as St. Paul was.

7. In natural philosophy, they have great regard to the name of *Newton*, as the most wonderful genius of his kind. But they are sure, his method of proving a *vacuum* is not agreeable to nature. A vacuum cannot be deduced from the theory of resistances: for, if motion be from impulsion, as Newton himself,

and some of the wisest of his followers have suspected; then the cause of motion will never resist the motion which it causes. The rule, which is true when applied to *communicated motion*, does not hold when applied to the *motions of nature*. For the motions of nature change from less to more; as when a spark turns to a conflagration: but communicated motion always changes from more to less: so that there is an essential difference between them, and we cannot argue from the one to the other. Mr. *Cotes's* demonstration, it is well known, is applicable only to communicated motion: I mean such only as is *violent* or *artificial*. There is no need of a vacuum in the heavens: it is more reasonable and more agreeable to nature that they should be filled with a circulating fluid, which does not hinder motion, but begins it and preserves it.

They cannot allow *inert* matter to be capable (as mind is) of *active* qualities: but ascribe attraction, repulsion, &c. to subtle causes, not immaterial. There may be cases very intricate and difficult; but they take the rule from plain cases, and supposing nature to be uniform and consistent, they apply it to the rest.

8. In natural history, they maintain, against all the wild theories of Infidels, which come up, one after another, like mushrooms, and soon turn rotten, that the present condition of the earth bears evident marks of an universal flood; and that extraneous fossils are to be accounted for from the same catastrophe. Many of them are therefore diligent collectors of fossil bodies, which are valuable to the curious in consideration of their origin.

9. What commonly passes under the name of *learning*, is a knowledge of *Heathen* books: but it should always be admitted with great precaution. For they think of all Heathens, that, from the time when they commenced Heathens, they never worshipped the *true* God, the Maker of heaven and earth; but, instead of him, the elements of the world, the powers of nature, and the lights of heaven: that the love of vice and vanity was the real cause of their ignorance: they did not *know* the true God, because they did not *like* to know him: and that the same passions will give us an inclination to the principles of Heathens, rather than to the principles of

Christians; and that most of the ill principles of this age come out of the Heathen School. The favourers of Mr. Hutchinson's scheme are therefore reputed to be the enemies of learning. But they are not so. They are enemies only to the *abuses* of it, and to the corruptions derived from it. To all false learning, that is to human folly, affecting to be wisdom, they have indeed a mortal aversion in their hearts, and can hardly be civil to it in their words; as knowing, that the more a man has of false wisdom, the less room there will be for the true. Metaphysics, which consist of words without ideas; illustrations of Christian subjects from Heathen parallels; theories founded only on imagination; speculations on the mind of man, which yield no solid matter to it, but lead it into dangerous opinions about itself; these and other things of the kind, with which modern learning abounds, they regard as they would the painting of a ghost, or the splitting of an atom *.

10. Of *Jews* they think, that they are the inveterate enemies of Christianity; never to be trusted as our associates either in Hebrew or Divinity. No *Philo*, no *Josephus*, no *Talmudist*, is to be depended upon; but suspected and sifted, as dangerous Apostates from *true Judaism*. It is plausibly argued, that Jews, as native *Hebrews*, must, like other natives, be best acquainted with their own language. But the case of the Jews is without a parallel upon earth. They are out of their native state; and have an interest in deceiving Christians by every possible means, and depriving them of the evidence of the Old Testament.

11. They are of opinion, that the *Hebrew* is the primæval and original language; that its structure shews it to be divine; and that a comparison with other languages shews its priority.

12. *The Cherubim* of the Scriptures were mystical figures, of high antiquity and great signification. Those of Eden, and of the Tabernacle, and of Ezekiel's vision, all belong to the same original. *Irenæus* has enough upon them to justify the Hutchinsonian acceptation of them. The place they had in the Holy of Holies, and their use in the Sacred Ritual, sets them very high. Their appellation, as † *Cherubim of glory*,

* See more on this subject in the Life. † Compare Acts vii. Ὁ Θεος της δοξης.

does the same; and the reasoning of Saint *Paul*, from the shadows of the law to the priesthood of Christ, sets them highest of all: obliging us to infer, that they were symbolical of the Divine presence. The τεσσαρα ζωα in the Revelation of Saint John (improperly called *beasts*; for one of them was a *man*, and another a *bird*) must be taken from the same: where the figures of the old law bow down and surrender all power and glory to the evangelical figure of the Lamb that was slain. Here the doctrine is thought to labour a little: but, if the ζωα are considered only as figures, the case alters. And, if this great subject should have parts and circumstances not to be understood, we must argue from what *is* understood. They seem to have been known in the Christian Church of the first centuries; but not with the help of the *Jews*. So also was the analogy of the three agents (φως, πυρ, πνευμα,) these being expressly mentioned by Epiphanius, as similitudes of the Divine Trinity.

In their physiological capacity, so far as we can find, the Cherubim seem never to have been considered before Mr. Hutchinson; who very properly derives from them all *animal-worship* among the Heathens. This subject is of great extent and depth; comprehending a mass of Mythological learning, well worthy of a diligent examination.

These things come down to us under the name of *John Hutchinson*; a character *sui generis*, such as the common forms of education could never have produced: and it seems to me not to have been well explained, how and by what means he fell upon things, seemingly so new and uncommon: but we do not enquire *whose* they are, but *what* they are, and what they are good for. If the tide had brought them to shore in a trunk, marked with the initials J. H. while I was walking by the sea-side, I would have taken them up, and kept them for use; without being solicitous to know, what ship they came out of, or how far, and how long, they had been floating at the mercy of the wind and waves. If they should get from my hands into better hands, I should rejoice; being persuaded they would revive in others the dying flame of Christian faith, as they did in Bishop Horne and myself. And why should any good men be afraid of them? There is nothing here, that tends to make men troublesome as Heretics;

Fanatics, Sectaries, Rebels, or Corrupters of any kind of useful learning. All these things a man may believe, and still be a good subject, a devout Christian, and a sound member of the Church of England: perhaps more sound, and more useful, than he would have been without them. For myself I may say, (as I do in great humility) that, by following them through the course of a long life, I have found myself much enlightened, much assisted in evidence and argument, and never corrupted; as I hope my writings, if they should last, will long bear me witness. If these principles should come into use with other people, I am confident they would turn Christians into Scholars, and Scholars into Christians: enabling them to demonstrate, how shallow infidels are in their learning, and how greatly every man is a loser by his ignorance of Revelation.

When we are describing Hutchinsonians, it would be unjust to forget, that they are *true Churchmen* and *Loyalists;* steady in the fellowship of the Apostles, and faithful to the Monarchy under which they live. This, however, is not from what they find in Hutchinson, though it *is* to be found in him*; but from what he has taught them to find, by taking their principles from the Scripture. Had this man been a splendid character, and a great favourite with the world, we might have received his doctrines with our mouths open, and our eyes shut; but our dangers are quite of another kind. From *him* nothing is to be taken upon trust: every thing must be sifted and examined to the uttermost. And so let it: for thus it will be better understood. Prove it well, and hold it fast. Of leaders and guides in learning beware: for, as wisely speaks the author of the *Pursuits of Literature,* they ought, in this age, to be *well watched:* if they fall into dangerous mistakes, many fall with them: and, if evil once creeps in, and finds public entertainment, no man can say how or when we shall get rid of it. Such leaders are as watchful against *us,* as we ought to be against *them.* They neither *enter in*

* No being whatever can have any power over man, but the God that made him; therefore no man can have any power over any other man, unless he has it from God. Parents have it over their children by Creation; therefore from the Creator: and Rulers have it, by being God's ministers. This is Mr. Hutchinson's argument; and it is as close as a demonstration.

themselves, nor suffer other people, if they can prevent it. Many young men would find employment and amusement for their lives, if the way were open, and they were permitted to inquire for themselves. Here, *free enquiry* would be honourable, safe, and laudable: but discouragements are often thrown in their way; and I have met with some examples of it; one in particular, which made a great impression upon me.

Some years ago I became acquainted with a young man, of bright parts, a studious disposition, and a pious turn of mind; in whose conversation I found comfort and pleasure. To such advice as I gave him, in regard to his future studies, he was remarkably attentive. He saw a new field of learning opening to his view, which promised him much profitable employment; and he seemed in haste to enter upon it. As he was intended for the Church, I flattered myself he would take some active part in the defence of Christian truth as a writer; together with the advancement of Christian piety as a preacher. With this prospect upon my mind, he left me for many months. But, at his return, I found him totally changed; and I rarely conversed with him but to my disappointment. His mind, which used to be undisguised and open, was now guarded at every pass: and, whatever I proposed, as formerly, he had now an evasion ready. It seemed as if somebody had hung a bell about my neck, so that I could not stir without raising an alarm. To a man, rather shy of making proselytes, but always pleased to meet with volunteers, fit for the service of God and his Church, my situation was distressing. I discovered, that my friend was no longer his own man: I guessed at the cause; and gave little trouble afterwards to him or myself. But I lamented, that he had lost a view of things, which would have animated him; and, while it found exercise for the best of his talents, would have given strength and effect to all his labours. His pursuits in literature will now most probably be frivolous in themselves, and foreign to his profession as a clergyman. No man will do great things, when he yields to secular influence, where literary and religious ought to prevail. The vineyard is a better spot to cultivate than the highway; and, when labourers are wanted, it is pity any one should be led away upon other service, less pleasant and less profitable. *Why even of your ownselves*

judge ye not what is right? said our Saviour to those, who could judge of the weather by the face of the sky, without going to ask the *Pharisees:* and who ought, after the same manner, to have judged for themselves, in matters of much greater moment, from the signs of the times and the state of the church. I hazarded a great, and, as it may be thought, a rash, assertion, in the following Life: I said, "that, if we were ever to see such another man as Bishop *Horne*, he must *come out of the same school.*" I am still of the same mind; for I think no other school will form such a man. I will now hazard a farther opinion to the same effect: for I think it not improbable, that if some man were to arise, with abilities for the purpose, well prepared in his learning, and able to guide his words with discretion: and such a man were to take up the principles called Hutchinsonian, and do them justice; the world would find it much harder to stand against him than they are aware of, even with all the *new biographers* of the age, to encourage and assist them. I may be called a *visionary*, when I say this: that I cannot help: but how many stranger visions have been realised of late, which, twenty years ago, would have been pronounced utterly incredible! When strange things are to be done, strange men arise to do them. One man, as powerful in truth, as *Voltaire* was in error, might produce very unexpected alterations, and in less time than he did. Then might a new æra of learning succeed, as friendly to the Christian cause, as the learning, which has been growing up amongst us for the last hundred years, has been hostile and destructive. As to confirmed infidelity, it is a deaf adder, never to be charmed. Yet even here the case is not always to be given up in despair. Many forsake truth, because they hate it: of such there is no hope: but some believe wrong, only because they never were taught right.

Nayland, July 30, 1799.

THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

DR. HORNE.

Doctor George Horne, late Bishop of Norwich, and for several years President of Magdalen College in Oxford, and Dean of Canterbury, was born at Otham, a small village near Maidstone in Kent, on the first of November, in the year 1730. His father was the Reverend Samuel Horne *, M.A. rector of Otham, a very learned and respectable clergyman, who for some years had been a tutor at Oxford. This gentleman had so determined with himself, to preserve the integrity of his mind against all temptations from worldly advantage, that he was heard to say, and used often to repeat it, he had rather be a toad-eater to a mountebank, than flatter any great man against his conscience. To this he adhered through the whole course of his life; a considerable part of which was spent in the education of his children, and in a regular performance of all the duties of his parish. He married a daughter of Bowyer Hendley, Esq. by whom he had seven children, four sons and three daughters. The eldest son died very young. The late Bishop was the next.

* He died in 1768, aged 75.

His younger brother, Samuel, was a Fellow of University College; where he died, greatly respected and lamented. He inherited the integrity of his father, and was an *Israelite indeed,* who never did or wished harm to any mortal. Yet his character was by no means of the insipid kind: he had much of the humour and spirit of his elder brother; had a like talent for preaching; and was well attended to as often as he appeared in the university pulpit. His death was announced to an intimate friend by his elder brother in the following short and pathetic letter:

MY DEAR FRIEND, *(No date.)*

Last night, about half an hour past eight, it pleased God to take from us, by a violent fit of the stone in the gall-bladder, my dear brother Sam. He received the blessed sacrament, with my mother and myself, from the hands of Dr. Wetherell *; and, full of faith, with the most perfect resignation, departed in peace with God, the world, and himself. It is a heavy stroke to my poor mother; but she and my sisters bear up with great fortitude. I have lost a very dear friend, and pleasant companion! Pray for us—All join in every affectionate wish for the happiness of you and yours, with

G. H.

The youngest brother, the Reverend William Horne, was educated at Magdalen College in Oxford, and was rector of Otham, in which he succeeded his father, as also in the more valuable rectory of Brede in the county of Sussex.

* Then Master of University College, and Dean of Hereford, &c.

Mr. Horne, the father of the family, was of so mild and quiet a temper, that he studiously avoided giving trouble on any occasion. This he carried so far, that, when his son George was an infant, he used to wake him with playing upon a flute; that the change from sleeping to waking might be gradual and pleasant, and not produce an outcry; which frequently happens when children are awakened suddenly. What impression this early custom of his father might make upon his temper, we cannot say: but certainly, he was remarkable, as he grew up, for a tender feeling of music, especially that of the church.

Under his father's tuition, he led a pleasant life, and made a rapid progress in Greek and Latin. But some well-meaning friend, fearing he might be spoiled by staying so long at home, advised the sending of him to school. To this his good father, who never was given to make much resistance, readily consented: and he was accordingly placed in the school at Maidstone, under the care of the Reverend Deodatus Bye, a man of good principles, and well learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; who, when he had received his new scholar, and examined him at the age of thirteen, was so surprised at his proficiency, that he asked him why he came to school, when he was rather fit to go *from* school? With this gentleman he continued two years; during which, he added much to his stock of learning, and among other things a little elementary knowledge of the Hebrew, on the plan of Buxtorf, which was of great advantage to him afterwards. I am a witness to the high respect with which he always spoke of his master; whom he had newly left, when my acquaintance with him first commenced at University College, to which he was sent when he was little more than fifteen years of age. When servants speak well of a

master or mistress, we are sure they are good servants; and, when a scholar speaks well of his teacher, we may be as certain he is, in every sense of the word, a good scholar.

I cannot help recounting, on this occasion, that there was under the said Deodatus Bye another scholar, very nearly related to Mr. Horne, of whom the master was heard to say, that he never did any thing which he wished him not to have done. But, when the lad was told of this, he very honestly observed upon it, that he had done many things which his master *never heard of*. He is now in an office of great responsibility. They, who placed him in it, supposed him still to retain the honesty he brought with him from Maidstone school; and I never heard that he had disappointed them.

While Mr. Horne was at school, a Maidstone scholarship in University College became vacant; in his application for which he succeeded, and, young as he was, the master recommended his going directly to college.

Soon after he was settled at University College, (where he was admitted on the 15th of March 1745-6), Mr. Hobson, a good and learned tutor of the house, gave out an exercise, for a trial of skill, to Mr. Horne and the present writer of his life, who was also in his first year. They were ordered to take a favourite Latin ode of Boëtius, and present it to the tutor in a different Latin metre. This they both did as well as they could: and the contest, instead of dividing, united them ever after, and had also the effect of inspiring them with a love of the Lyric Poetry of that author; which seems not to be sufficiently known among scholars, though beautiful in its kind. The whole work was once in such esteem, that King Alfred, the

founder of University College, and of the English constitution, translated it.

His studies, for a time, were in general the same with those of other ingenious young men; and the vivacity of his mind, which never was exceeded, and made his conversation very desirable, introduced him to many gentlemen of his own standing, who resembled him in their learning and their manners, particularly to Mr. Jenkinson, now Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Moore, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Cracherode, Mr. Benson, the Honourable Hamilton Boyle, son of Lord Orrery, the late Reverend Jasper Selwin, and many others. Mr. Denny Martin, afterwards Dr. Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, in Kent, was from the same school with Mr. Horne; and has always been very nearly connected with him, as a companion of his studies, a lover of his virtues, and an admirer of his writings.

To shew how high Mr. Horne's character stood with all the members of his college, old and young, I need only mention the following fact. It happened about the time when he took his Bachelor's degree, which was on the 27th of October, 1749, that a Kentish fellowship became vacant at Magdalen College; and there was, at that time, no scholar of the house who was upon the county. The senior fellow of University College, having heard of this, said nothing of it to Mr. Horne, but went down to Magdalen College, told them what an extraordinary young man they might find in University College, and gave him such a recommendation as disposed the society to accept of him. When the day of election came, they found him such as he had been represented, and much more; and in 1750 he was accordingly chosen a fellow of Magdalen College, and on the first of June, 1752, he took the degree of Master of Arts.

If we look back upon our past lives, it will generally be found, that the leading events, which gave a direction to all that followed, were not according to our own choice or knowledge, but from the hand of an over-ruling Providence, which acts without consulting us; putting us into situations, which are either best for ourselves, or best for the world, or best for both; and leading us as it led the patriarch Abraham; of whom we are told, that *he knew not whither he was going*. This was plainly the case in Mr. Horne's election to Magdalen College. A person took up the matter, unsolicited and in secret: he succeeded. When fellow, his character and conduct gave him favour with the society, and, when Dr. Jenner died, they elected him president: the headship of the college introduced him to the office of vice-chancellor; which at length made him as well known to Lord North, as to the Earl of Liverpool: this led to the deanry of Canterbury, and that to the bishopric of Norwich.

If we return to the account of his studies, we shall there find something else falling in his way which he never sought after, and attended with a train of very important consequences. While he was deeply engaged in the pursuits of Oratory, Poetry, Philosophy, and History, and making himself well acquainted with the Greek Tragedians, of which he was become a great admirer, an accident, of which I shall relate the account as plainly and faithfully as I can, without disguising or diminishing, drew him into a new situation in respect of his mind, and gave a new turn to his studies, before he had arrived at his Bachelor's degree. I may indeed say of this, that it certainly gave much of the colour which his character assumed from that time, and opened the way to most of his undertakings

and publications; as he himself would witness if he were now alive.

It is known to the public, that he came very early upon the stage as an author, though an anonymous one, and brought himself into some difficulty under the denomination of an *Hutchinsonian;* for this was the name given to those gentlemen who studied Hebrew and examined the writings of John Hutchinson, Esq. the famous Mosaic philosopher, and became inclined to favour his opinions in Theology and Philosophy.

About the time of which I am speaking, there were many good and learned men of both Universities, but chiefly in and of the University of Oxford, who, from the representation given to the public, some years before, by the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes, then Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, and from a new and more promising method of studying the Hebrew language, independently of Jewish error, and from a flattering prospect also of many other advantages to the general interests of religion and learning, were become zealous advocates in favour of the new scheme of Mr. Hutchinson. Mr. Horne was led into this enquiry, partly by an accident which had happened to myself.

An attachment to some friends, then well known in the University for their abilities in music, of whom the principal were, Mr. Phocion Henley of Wadham College, Mr. Pixel of Queen's, and Mr. Short of Worcester, drew me often to Wadham College; which society has two Hebrew scholarships, on one of which there was a gentleman, a Mr. Catcott of Bristol, whose father, as I afterwards understood, was one of those authors who first distinguished themselves as writers on the side of Mr. Hutchinson: he possessed a very curious collection of fossils, some of which he had digged and

scratched out of the earth with his own hands at the hazard of his life; a pit near Wadham College, which would have buried him, having fallen in very soon after he was out of it. This collection * I was invited to see, and readily accepted the invitation, out of a general curiosity, without any particular knowledge of the subject. This gentleman, perceiving my attention to be much engaged by the novelty and curiosity of what he exhibited, threw out so many hints about things of which I had never heard, that I requested the favour of some farther conversation with him on a future occasion. One conference followed another, till I saw a new field of learning opened, particularly in

* It is now deposited in the public library at Bristol, to the corporation of which city he left that and his MSS. on a principle of gratitude for the preferment they had given him; and there I saw it in the year 1790, with many large and valuable additions.

Of the collector it may be truly said, that he was not only an Hebræan in his learning, but an Israelite in life and manners. To his industry we owe a Treatise on the Deluge, which, when compared with many others, will be found to give the best and most curious information upon the subject. This good and innocent man, whose heart was well affected to all mankind, died before his time; and the manner of his death, if it has been truly reported, will raise the indignation of every sensible and charitable mind. He kept his bed with a bad fever; and when rest was necessary, he was disturbed by the continual barking of a dog that was chained up near at hand. When his friends sent a civil message desiring that the dog might be removed till the patient was better, it was refused; and, in the event, he was fairly barked to death. If this fact be true, how cheap are the lives and sufferings of some men in the estimation of others!—*Hercule! homini plurima ex homine sunt mala!*—for the dog intended no harm.—Of this gentleman himself, we are informed by one of his intimate frends, that, when he settled his account at the year's end, he considered all the money that remained after his own debts were paid as the property not of himself but of the poor, to whose use (being a single man) he never failed to apply it.

the department of Natural History, which promised so much information and entertainment, that I fell very soon into the same way of reading. Dr. Woodward the physician, who had been a fellow-labourer with Hutchinson, and followed very nearly the same principles, had made the natural history of the Earth, and the diluvian origination of extraneous fossils, so agreeable and so intelligible, that I was captivated by his writings: and from them I went to others; taking what I found, with a taste and appetite, which could not, at that time, make such distinctions as I may have been able to make since. In the simplicity of my heart, I communicated some of the novelties, with which my mind was now filled, to my dear and constant companion, Mr. Horne, from whom I seldom concealed any thing; but found him very little inclined to consider them; and I had the mortification to see, that I was rather losing ground in his estimation. Our College-Lectures on Geometry and Natural Philosophy (which were not very deep) we had gone through with some attention, and thought ourselves qualified to speak up for the Philosophy of Newton. It was therefore shocking to hear, that *attraction* was *no physical principle,* and that a *vacuum* never had been, and never would be, *demonstrated.* Here therefore Mr. Horne insisted, that if Sir I. Newton's Philosophy should be false in these principles, no Philosophy would ever be true. How it was objected to, and how it was defended, I do not now exactly remember; I fear, not with any profound skill on either side; but this I well recollect, that our disputes, which happened at a pleasant season of the year, kept us walking to and fro in the Quadrangle till past midnight. As I got more information for myself, I gained more

upon my companion: but I have no title to the merit of forming him into what he afterwards proved to be.

In the same College with us, there lived a very extraordinary person. He was a classical scholar of the first rate, from a public school, remarkable for an unusual degree of taste and judgment in poetry and oratory; his person was elegant and striking, and his countenance expressed at once both the gentleness of his temper and the quickness of his undestanding. His manners and address were those of a perfect gentleman: his common talk, though easy and fluent, had the correctness of studied composition: his benevolence was so great, that all the beggars in Oxford knew the way to his chamber door; upon the whole, his character was so spotless, and his conduct so exemplary, that mild and gentle as he was in his carriage toward them, no young man dared to be rude in his company. By many of the first people in the University he was known and admired: and it being my fortune to live in the same staircase with him, he was very kind and attentive to me, though I was much his junior: he often allowed me the pleasure of his conversation, and sometimes gave me the benefit of his advice, of which I knew the meaning to be so good, that I always heard it with respect, and followed it as well as I could. This gentleman, with all his other qualifications, was a reader of Hebrew, and a favourer of Mr. Hutchinson's philosophy; but had kept it to himself, in the spirit of Nicodemus; and when I asked him the reason of it afterwards, and complained of the reserve with which he had so long treated me in this respect; "Why," said he, "these things are in no repute; the world does not receive them; and you, being a young man, who must keep what friends you have, and make your for-

tune in the world, I thought it better to let you go on in your own way, than bring you into that embarrassment which might be productive of more harm than good, and embitter the future course of your life: besides, it was far from being clear to me, how you would receive them; and then I might have lost your friendship." It was now too late for such a remonstrance to have any effect; I therefore, on the contrary, prevailed upon him to become my master in Hebrew, which I was very desirous to learn: and in this he acquitted himself with so much skill and kind attention, writing out for me with his own hand such grammatical rules and directions as he judged necessary, that in a very short time I could go on without my guide. I remember, however, that I had nearly worked myself to death, by determining, like Duns Scotus in the Picture-Gallery, to go through a whole chapter in the Hebrew before night.

To this gentleman, whose name was George Watson, I recommended Mr. Horne at my departure from Oxford; and they were so well pleased with each other, that Mr. Horne, instead of going home to his friends in the vacation, stayed for the advantage of following his studies at Oxford, under the direction of his new teacher: and in the autumn of the year 1749, he began a Series of Letters to his Father, which fill above thirty pages in large quarto, very closely written; from the whole tenor of which, it is pleasant to see, how entire a friendship and confidence there was between a grave and learned father, and a son not yet twenty years of age! Of these letters, though they are by no means correct enough, either for style or judgment, to stand the test of severe criticism, it is highly proper I should give some account; to shew what those opinions were, which had now got possession of his

mind; intermixing with my abstract such notes and explanations as shall seem requisite for a better understanding of it.

Having first apologized to his father, for not visiting him in the vacation, he gives him an account of his teacher. "I am obliged for the happiness I have enjoyed of late to a gentleman of this society, and shall always bless God that his providence ever brought me acquainted with him. He is a Fellow of our house; and, though but six and twenty, as complete a scholar in the whole circle of learning, as great a divine, as good a man, and as polite a gentleman, as the present age can boast of." These words of Mr. Horne I introduce with peculiar satisfaction; because they afford so strong a concurring testimony to the truth of what I have already ventured to say of Mr. Watson. This excellent man never published any large work, and will be known to posterity only by some occasional pieces which he printed in his life-time. His Sermon on the 19th Psalm, which he preached before the University, and afterwards left the printing of to my care, so delighted Mr. Horne (as it appears from these letters to his father) that it probably raised in his mind the first desire of undertaking that Commentary on the whole book of Psalms, which he afterwards brought to such perfection*. Mr. Watson published another Sermon on the Divine Appearance in Gen. xviii.; which was furiously shot at by the bush-fighters of that time in the *Monthly Review;* insomuch that the author thought it might be of some service to take up his pen and write them a letter; in which their insolence is reproved with such superior

* This is the gentleman who is spoken of in a Note to the Comment on Psalm xix.

dignity of mind and serenity of temper, and their ignorance and error so learnedly exposed, that, if I were desirous of shewing to any reader what Mr. Watson was, and what *they* were, I would by all means put that letter into his hand; of which I suppose no copies are now to be found, but in the possession of some of his surviving friends. It is however made mention of with due honour by Dr. Delany, the celebrated Dean of Down in Ireland, who was once the intimate friend of Swift, and has given us the best account of his life and character in his Observations in answer to Lord Orrery. In a Preface to the third volume of his Revelation examined with Candour, which he printed at London very late in life, he speaks of a malignant style of criticism, in practice at that time with the obscure and unknown authors of a Monthly Review; and observes upon the case, that "he must seem at first sight a rash as well as a bold man, who would venture to wage war at once with Billingsgate and Banditti. And yet in truth," adds he, "such a war (defensive only) hath been waged with them to great advantage, by a gentleman, whose mind and manners are as remote from illiberal scurrility and abuse, as his adversaries appear to be from learning, from candour, and from every character of true criticism. Mr. Watson, the defendant here mentioned, hath, in return to their scurrility, answered and exposed them with strong, clear and irresistible reasoning, and such a meek, calm and Christian spirit, as hath done honour to his own character, and uncommon justice to the Christian cause; such as were sufficient to silence any thing but effrontery, hardened in ignorance, to the end of the world." Mr. Watson also printed a Sermon, preached before the University on the 29th of May, which he calls an Ad-

monition to the Church of England. In a long Preface to this Sermon, he has thrown out such valuable observations, that an excellent manual might be formed out of them, for preserving the members of the Church of England steady in their profession; by shewing to them, so plainly as is here done, the principal dangers to which they are now exposed. Having said thus much of his teacher (and I could with pleasure have said much more) I must now shew what he learned under him.

From the general account he gives of his studies, he appears in consequence of his intercourse with Mr. Watson, to have been persuaded, that the system of Divinity in the Holy Scripture is explained and attested by the Scriptural account of created nature: and that this account, including the Mosaic Cosmogony, is true so far as it goes: and that the Bible, in virtue of its originality, is fitter to explain all the books in the world than they are to explain it: that much of the learning of the age was either unprofitable in itself, or dangerous in its effect; and that literature, so far as it was a fashion, was in general unfavourable to Christianity, and to a right understanding of the Scripture: that the Jews had done much hurt in the Hebrew; not to the text by corrupting it, but by leading us into their false way of interpreting and understanding it; and that their Rabbinical writers were therefore not to be taken as teachers by Christian students: that a notion lately conceived of the Mosaic law, as an institution merely civil or secular, without the doctrines of life and immortality in it, was of pernicious tendency; contrary to the sense of all the primitive writers, and the avowed doctrine of the Church of England: that the sciences of Metaphysics and Ethics had a near alliance to Deism; and that, in conse-

quence of the authority they had obtained, the doctrine of our pulpits was in general fallen below the Christian standard; and that the Saviour and the Redemption, without which our religion is nothing, were in a manner forgotten; which had given too much occasion to the irregular teaching of the Tabernacle: that the sin of modern Deism is the same in kind with the sin of Paradise, which brought death into the world; because it aspires to divine wisdom, that is, to the knowledge of divine things, and the distinction between good and evil, independently of God.

He had learned farther, that the Hebrew language, and the Hebrew antiquities, lead to a superior way of understanding the mythology and writings of the Heathen classical authors: and that the Hebrew is a language of ideas; whose terms for invisible and spiritual things are taken with great advantage from the objects of nature; and that there can be no other way of conceiving such things, because all our ideas enter by the senses: whereas in all other languages, there are arbitrary sounds without ideas.

It appeared to him farther, that unbelief and blasphemy were gaining ground upon us, in virtue of some popular mistakes in Natural Philosophy, and threatened to banish all religion out of the world. Voltaire began very early to make his use of philosophy, and corrupt the world with it. He never was fit to mount it; but he walked by the side of it, and used it as a stalking-horse. It is therefore of great consequence to the learned to know, that, as the heavens and the elements of the world had been set up by the Heathens, as having power in themselves; and that as the Heathens, building on this false foundation, had lost the knowledge of God; the modern doctrine, which gives innate powers to matter, as the followers of De-

mocritus and Epicurus did, would probably end in Atheism*: that the forces, which the modern Philosophy uses, are not the forces of nature; but that the world is carried on by the action of the elements on one another, and all under God: that it is no better than raving, to give active powers to matter, supposing it capable of acting where it is not; and to affirm, at the same time, that all matter is inert, that is inactive, and that even the Deity cannot act but where he is present, because his *power* cannot be but where his *substance* is.

He was also convinced, that infinite mischief had been done, not only by the tribe of Deists and Philosophers, but by some of our most celebrated divines, in extolling the dignity of human nature and the wisdom of human reason; both of which the Scripture delivers to us under a very different character; which the experience of the world is daily confirming. That infidels and profligates should wish to establish their own opinions upon the ruins of revelation was not to be wondered at; but that they, whose office it was to dress and defend the sacred vineyard, should fall in with them, and join with the wild boar out of the wood to root it up, was a matter of grief and surprise. A distemper must indeed be epidemical, when the physicians themselves are seized with it. This malady, when traced to its fountain-head, appears to have arisen from a general neglect in schools and seminaries of the study of the Scriptures in their original languages; where they attend so much to the works of heathens, and so little to the book of light, life and immortality. While the heads of boys are filled with tales of Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Bacchus, and Venus, the

* This hath now actually come to pass.

Bible is little heard of; and so the heathen creed becomes not only the first but the whole study. Jews, mistaken as they are, are still diligent in teaching the Scripture to their children in their own way; while we are teaching what even Jews are wise enough to abominate. Possessed by this opinion, that all polite knowledge is in heathen authors, and the Bible but a dull heavy book, which, instead of promoting, rather stands in the way of improvement, a lad is sent from school to the university. Here is a very alarming crisis. If he happen to be of a sprightly wit, he falls into loose company, and, for want of religious principles, is led into all manner of wickedness. Should he study, he obtains logic under the form of a scholastic jargon, which in its simplicity* is of excellent use. Then he learns a system of Ethics, which teaches morals without religious data, as the Heathens did! After which, he probably goes on to Woollaston, Shaftsbury, and others; and is at length fixed in the opinion, that reason is sufficient for man without revelation. Our young philosopher having proceeded thus far, wants nothing but Metaphysics to complete him; by setting him to reason without principles, to judge without evidence, and to comprehend without ideas. He learns to deduce the being and attributes of God *à priori;* in consequence of which he discovers, that God is not a Trinity, but a single person. When a gentleman thus equipped, takes the Bible into his hand and commences divine, what must become of *it*, and of *him!* Thus it appears, that, as things go now, a man may be a master of what is called human learn-

* The more *simple* the better: but the *old logic*, even with all its jargon, is a better guard to truth, than the new which has superseded it; and is found by many, who have considered the difference, so to be.

ing, and yet ignorant to the last degree of what only is worth knowing.

The foregoing abstract, which I have taken as faithfully as I could, is sufficient to shew upon what great and important subjects Mr. Horne's mind was employed at this early period of his life. In the course of this correspondence, there are several strokes of humour which ought not to be forgotten. The Hebrew Concordance of Marius de Calasio had lately been republished by the Rev. Mr. Romaine, and was an expensive work, so high as ten guineas at that time, though now at a price very much reduced. Mr. Horne had set his heart upon this work, thinking it necessary to his present studies; but knew not how to purchase it out of his allowance, or to ask his father in plain terms to make him a present of it; so he told him a story, and left the moral of it to speak for itself.

In the last age, when Bishop Walton's Polyglott was first published, there was at Cambridge a Mr. Edwards, passionately fond of Oriental learning; who afterwards went by the name of Rabbi Edwards: he was a good man, and a good scholar: but being then rather young in the University, and not very rich, Walton's great work was far above his pocket. Nevertheless, not being able to sleep well without it, he sold his bed, and some of his furniture, and made the purchase: in consequence of which, he was obliged to sleep in a large chest, originally made to hold his clothes. But getting into his chest one night rather uncautiously, the lid of it, which had a bolt with a spring, fell down upon him and locked him in past recovery; and there he lay well nigh smothered to death. In the morning, Edwards, who was always an exact man, not appearing, it was wondered what was become

of him: till at last his bed-maker, or the person who in better times *had been his bed-maker*, being alarmed, went to his chambers time enough to release him: and the accident, getting air, came to the ears of his friends, who soon redeemed his bed for him. This story Mr. Horne told his father; and it had the desired effect. His father immediately sent him the money; for which he returns him abundant thanks, promising to repay him in the only possible way, viz. that of using the books to the best advantage. They were without question diligently turned over while he worked at his Commentary on the Psalms, and yielded him no small assistance.

The use of Hebrew to divines was well understood by Bishop Bull, who did not content himself with a slight and superficial knowledge of it; and judged it so necessary in divinity, that it was usual with him to recommend the study of it to the candidates for orders, as a foundation for their future theological performances. Without this knowledge in Mr. Horne, we should never have seen his Commentary upon the Psalms.

When a student hath once persuaded himself that he sees truth in the principles of Mr. Hutchinson, a great revolution succeeds in his ideas of the natural world and its œconomy. Qualities in matter, with a vacuum for them to act in, are no longer venerable: and the authority of Newton's name, which goes with them, loses some of its influence. Nor is this in the present case so much to be wondered at: for Mr. Hutchinson had conceived an opinion, which possessed his mind very strongly, that Sir I. Newton and Dr. Clarke had formed a design, by introducing certain speculations founded on their new mode of philosophizing, to undermine and overthrow the theology of

the Scripture, and to bring in the Heathen Jupiter or Stoical *anima mundi* into the place of the true God, whom we Christians believe and worship. This will seem less extravagant, when it is known that Mr. Boyle* had also expressed his suspicions, many years before, that Heathenism was about to rise again out of some new speculations, and reputedly grand discoveries, in Natural Philosophy. Yet I am not willing to believe, that the eminent persons above mentioned had actually formed any such design. What advantage unbelievers have, since their time, taken of their speculations in divinity and philosophy, and of the high repute which has attended them, and of the exclusive honours given to mathematical learning and mathematical reasoning, is another question; and it calls for a serious examination at this time, when the moral world is in great disorder, from causes not well understood.

However these things may be, the prejudice so strongly infused by Mr. Hutchinson against an evil design in Clark and Newton, took possession of Mr. Horne's mind at the age of nineteen; and was farther confirmed by reports which he had heard of a private good understanding betwixt them and the Sceptics of the day, such as Collins, Toland, Tindal, &c. more than the world generally knew of. It is an undoubted fact, that there was an attempt to introduce Atheism, or Materialism, which is the same thing, here in England, toward the beginning of this century; of which the *Pantheisticon* of *Janus Junius Eoganesius*, a technical name for John Toland, is a sufficient proof: and Hutchinson, who knew all the parties concerned, and the designs going forward, dropped such hints in his

* This remarkable passage from Mr. Boyle is quoted in The Scholar Armed, lately published by Rivingtons, vol. ii. p. 282.

Treatise on Power Essential and Mechanical *, as gave a serious alarm to many persons well disposed. But our young scholar, viewing the whole matter at first on the ridiculous side, and considering it not only as a dangerous attempt upon religion, but a palpable offence against truth and reason, drew a parallel between the Heathen doctrines in the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, and the Newtonian Philosophy; which he published, but without his name, in the year 1751; all the particulars of which parallel I shall not undertake to justify. I see its faulty flights and wanderings, from a want of more mature judgment and experience. It provoked several remarks, some in print, and some in manuscript; of which remarks the judgment was not greater, and the levity not less. The question was in reality too deep for those who attempted to fathom it at that time. Mr. Horne soon saw the impropriety of the style and manner, which as a young man he had assumed for merriment in that little piece: these were by no means agreeable to the constitution of his mind and temper. He therefore observed a very different manner afterwards; and, as soon as he had taken time to bethink himself, he resumed and reconsidered the subject; publishing his sentiments in 1753, (the year after that in which he had taken his degree of M.A.) in a mild and serious pamphlet, which he called A fair, candid, and impartial State of the Case between Sir I. Newton and Mr. Hutchinson: allowing to Sir Isaac the great merit of having settled laws and rules in Natural Philosophy; but at the same time claiming for Mr. Hutchinson the discovery of the two physiological causes, by which, under the power of the Creator, the natural world is moved and directed. The

* See p. 243, &c. of the old edition; beginning with the account of Woodward's conduct.

piece certainly is, what it calls itself, *fair, candid,* and *impartial;* and the merits of the cause are very judiciously stated between the two parties: in consequence of which, a reader will distinguish, that Newton may be of sovereign skill in measuring *forces* as a Mathematician; and yet, that Hutchinson may be right in assigning *causes,* as a Physiologist. It would carry me out too far, if I were to shew by what arguments and evidence Mr. Horne has supported this distinction. For these I must refer to the pamphlet itself, which, having become very scarce*, hath been lately reprinted with some other of his works; and I will venture to say thus much in its behalf, that, whatever becomes of the argument, the manner in which it is handled shews Mr. Horne, who, when he wrote it, was only in his twenty-third year, to have been a very extraordinary young man.

New studies and new principles never fail to bring a man into new company; all mankind being naturally disposed to associate with those who agree best with themselves. Of these his new friends it will be just and proper to give some short account. The chief of them was Mr. Watson, whom I have already mentioned. Another of them was Dr. Hodges, the Provost of Oriel College; who composed a work to which he gave the title of Elihu; the chief subject of it being the character of Elihu in the Book of Job. The style of it has great dignity and stateliness, without being formal; and is at the same time clear, and easy to be understood. Dr. Hodges was undoubtedly a very great master of his pen; but, having declared himself

* This Pamphlet, together with another entitled An Apology for certain Gentlemen in the University of Oxford, being reprinted, may be had of the Booksellers by whom the Life is sold.

without reserve in favour of Mr. Hutchinson's doctrines, his work was virulently assaulted and grossly misrepresented. Of this he complained; as he might well do: and what did he get by it? He was told in return, that a writer upon the book of *Job* should take every thing with *patience!* His book, however, went into a second edition. He was a man of a venerable appearance, with an address and delivery which made him very popular as a preacher in the University.

The learned Provost of Oriel, so far as it occurs to me, was the first who with a strong hand sounded the alarm-bell against those speculations and their consequences, which have now prevailed to the overthrow of the church and kingdom of France. A piece intitled *Les Mœurs* (*Manners*) was published there in the year 1748; the tendency of which was to establish natural religion on the ruins of all external worship, and so to free the world from all laws human and divine; that man might be guided by nothing but the light of his own mind. This was burned by the hangman at Paris; the soil, as Dr. Hodges observed, being not *quite*, though *nearly*, prepared for the reception of these tares. The country and the climate chosen by the writer were certainly promising, on this consideration, that superstition and irreligion are generally observed to be the reciprocal causes and effects of each other. Against the principles and spirit of this undertaking, the author of *Elihu* was so much in earnest, that he gave an abridgment of the work from a French copy, which he procured for that purpose. I could here stop with great pleasure, if it were proper, to extract some of the evidence so powerfully urged against all such attempts by this learned gentleman: but I must refer the reader to his *Preliminary Dis-*

course. It is, however, a fact never to be neglected, which he and others have ascertained by abundant authority, that, "all the religion of the heathen world was traditional revelation corrupted:" which, if it can be made good, overthrows at once all the modern theories of infidelity.

The Rev. Mr. Holloway, Rector of Middleton-Stoney in Oxfordshire, had been a private tutor to Lord Spencer, in the house of the Hon. John Spencer his father; who, with all his extravagances, never failed to preserve due respect * to Mr. Holloway, and listened to him with attention, when he conversed freely with the company at his table. This gentleman had been personally acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, and had published an elementary piece in favour of his philosophical principles. But he was better known in the University of Oxford by three excellent discourses on the Doctrine of Repentance, with a Supplement in answer to the perverse Glosses of Tindal the Freethinker. The Vice-chancellor of that time took a pique against him for dropping a hint, in his Supplement against Tindal, that the person of Melchizedec was an exhibition of Christ before his Incarnation. This was no novel opinion; it had been advanced by others, before and after the Reformation: and in *them* the doctrine had given no offence. But Mr. Holloway, being a man suspected and proscribed

* A military gentleman, who was sometimes of the party, remarked to a friend, that the strictest decorum was always observed, whenever Mr. Holloway, who supported the dignity of his profession, was present: while another clergyman, who thought to recommend himself by laying aside the clerical character, was treated with little ceremony and held in sovereign contempt; from which he naturally inferred, that the clergy would not fail to meet with proper respect, if it was not their own fault.

on some other accounts, met with some hard and unworthy treatment upon the occasion; yet to avoid a misunderstanding with the whole University, when only some individuals were concerned, he suppressed what he had written in his own defence. His scheme for an Analysis of the Hebrew Language, though it comprehends a vast compass of learning, is partly fanciful, and would bear a long dispute, into which I shall not enter: but this must be said in respect to Mr. Horne, that when he first commenced his theological studies, he derived many real advantages from his acquaintance with this gentleman; and I could name one of his most shining and useful discourses, which in the main argument of it, was taken from some loose papers of Remarks on Warburton's Divine Legation; to the principles of which this learned gentleman, for many good reasons, which he spared not to give, was a zealous adversary. To say the truth, there was little cordiality on either side between the renowned writer of the Divine Legation and the readers of Mr. Hutchinson. On most subjects of religion and learning, their opinions were irreconcileable. He despised their doctrines and interpretations, and railed at them as *Cabbalistical;* and they despised his Empirical Divinity; while, at the same time, they dreaded the ill effect of it, from the boldness of the man, and the popularity of his books: which have a great flash of learning, but with little solidity, and less piety. To the purity of Christian Literature they have certainly done, and are still doing, much hurt. When the first volume of the Divine Legation was shewn to Dr. Bentley, (as his son-in-law the late Bishop Cumberland told me) he looked it over, and then observed of the author to his friend—*This man has a monstrous appetite,*

*with a very bad digestion**. In justice to Mr. Holloway, whatever might be said against him, it must be said for him, that he was a sound classical scholar, who had gone farther than most men into the mysteries of the Greek Philosophy; and to an attentive study of the Christian Fathers had added great skill in the Hebrew and Arabic languages; such as qualified him to take up and maintain the cause of the *Hebrew Primævity* against its opponents. Confined as he was to the solitude of a country parish, if he found himself out of practice in the writing of Latin, he used to renew it occasionally by reading over the *Moriæ Encomium* of Erasmus, which never failed to reinstate him: and I am persuaded the anecdote may be of use to other scholars when in danger of losing their Latinity.

Mr. Holloway was first induced to take notice of Mr. Horne, on occasion of some verses which he had addressed to his friend Mr. Watson. They ex-

* This was written before I had a sight of the learned Bishop Hurd's Life of Dr. Warburton, lately published, in which such sublime praises are bestowed on the Alliance, the Divine Legation, and other works of that fanciful but very ingenious projector of unfounded theories. Though I honour the character of Bishop Hurd, and admire every thing he writes, my opinion of the *usefulness* of the works of Dr. Warburton is very little changed by what I have seen. I am still persuaded, that neither religion nor learning will ever derive much benefit, nor the Christian world any considerable *edification*, from the works of that famous writer: neither will they probably derive any great harm; because it is apprehended, the reading of Bishop Warbuton's books will hereafter be much less than it hath been. The Methodists despised him for a part of his Christian character, as much as he despised them for a part of their character; and both had equal reason. His learning is almost as much unlike to Christianity, as their Christianity is unlike to learning. I forbear to indulge any further reflections on so critical a subject.

pressed the ardour of his gratitude, and discovered a poetical genius *.

The Rev. Mr. Welbourne of Wendelbury near Bicester in Oxfordshire, whom, from the monastic spirit of a single life, and a remarkable attachment to the study of Antiquity, Mr Horne delighted to call by the name of *Robertus Wendelburiensis*, was very much respected and beloved, and often visited by Mr. Horne so long as he lived. Educated at Westminster and Christ-church, he was a scholar of the politer class; and a deep and skilful student in the Scripture, of which he gave a specimen in an interpretation of the last words of David from the Hebrew. He went farther in this, and with better success, than the learned and ingenious Dr. Grey, the versifier of the Book of Job, after the manner of Bishop Hare's Psalms, with whom he had been acquainted. He wrote well in English and Latin, and composed several learned works, which had their exceptionable passages, from a visible inclination toward some of the peculiarities of the church of Rome. He had lived several years in strict friendship with Dr. Frewen, the physician, in whose house he always resided when he made a visit to Oxford; also with the Reverend Sir John Dolben, of Finedon in Northamptonshire, the learned, accomplished, devout, and charitable father of the late worthy Sir William Dolben, member for the University of Oxford; and also Mr. Counsellor Gilpin; to the last of whom he left his collection of Grecian and

* It was rather officious to give them to the world, as somebody hath done since Dr. Horne's death. Our opinion of a great and good man, who has finished his course, ought not to be gathered from the hasty and ardent productions of his youth.

Roman coins; which, if I am rightly informed, is now in the new library of Christ-church *.

Another excellent friend of Mr. Horne was the late Dr. Patten, of Corpus Christi College; a gentleman of the purest manners and unquestionable erudition. On reconsidering the state of the question between Christians and infidels, and seeing how absolutely necessary it was to speak a plain language in a case of such importance to the world, he gave to the university of Oxford a discourse which he called the "Christian Apology;" and which the Vice-chancellor and Heads of Houses requested him to publish. It went upon true and indisputable principles; but it was not relished by the rash reasoners of the Warburtonian school; and a Mr. Heathcote, a very intemperate and unmannerly writer, who was at that time an assistant-preacher to Dr. Warburton at Lincoln's-Inn, published a pamphlet against it; laying himself open, both in the matter and the manner of it, to the criticisms of Dr. Patten; who will appear to any candid reader, who shall review that controversy, to have been greatly his superior as a scholar and a divine. Dr. Patten could not with any propriety be said to have written on the Hutchinsonian plan: but Mr. Heathcote, in aid of his own arguments, found it convenient to charge him with it, and suggest to the public that he was an Hutchinsonian; which gave Dr. Patten an opportunity of speaking his private sentiments, and doing justice to those gentlemen in the university of Oxford, who

* The complexion of this good man's character may be distinguished in the last letter I received from him, about two months before his death, of which I had an account from Dr. Horne.

were then under the reproach of being followers of Mr. Hutchinson *.

The Rev. Dr. Wetherell, late Dean of Hereford, was then a young man in the College of which he was afterwards the worthy Master: and such was his zeal at that time in favour of Hebrew literature, that Mr. Horne, Mr. Wetherell, and Mr. Martin (afterwards Dr. Fairfax,) and a fourth person intimately connected with them all, sat down for one whole winter, to examine and settle, as far as they were able, all the *Themata* of the Hebrew language: writing down their remarks daily, and collecting from Marius, and Buxtorf, and Paginus and others, what might be of use for compiling a new Lexicon. How much judgment they had, at this early period, to render their papers valuable, we dare not say: but, such as they were, the fruits of a faithful and laborious scrutiny, a copy of them was handed to the learned Mr. Parkhurst, late of the University of Cambridge, an eminent labourer in the same vineyard, to whom the public have since been greatly indebted for three editions of his Hebrew Lexicon; which contains such variety of curious and useful information, that contrary to the nature of other Dictionaries (properly so called) it may be turned over for entertainment as a Commentary on the Scripture, and a magazine of Biblical Erudition. His two scriptural Lexi-

* On occasion of this paragraph, I have reconsidered Dr. Patten's Discourse and the Defence of it; and am persuaded it might be of much service, if every young man were to read them both, before he takes holy orders. His picture of fashionable Christianity is very alarming, and I fear it is not exaggerated. Another Discourse preached before the University, and from the same pen, published also by request, intitled "The Opposition between the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and what is called the Religion of Nature," deserves to be noticed here.

cons, the one Greek, and the other Hebrew, are both so excellent in their way, that they will last as long as the world; unless the new Goths of infidelity should break in upon us and destroy, as they certainly wish to do, all the monuments of Christian learning *.

Doctor George Berkeley, of late years a Prebendary of the Church of Canterbury and Chancellor of Brecknock, was then Mr. George Berkeley, a student of Christ-church, a son of that celebrated pattern of virtue, science, and apostolical zeal, Dr. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne in the kingdom of Ireland; who chose to spend the latter days of his life in retirement at Oxford, while his son was a member of the university. Between this gentleman and Mr. Horne a very early intimacy commenced, and much of their time was spent in each other's company. Under the training and with the example of so excellent a father, Mr. Berkeley grew up into a firm believer of the Christian religion, and discovered an affectionate regard to every man of letters, who was ready, like himself, to explain and defend it. He was consequently a very zealous admirer of Mr. Horne; and the one had the happiness of belonging to the Chapter, while the other for several years was Dean of Canterbury: and when his friend was removed to the See of Norwich, Dr. Berkeley preached his Consecration Sermon at Lambeth; an act of respect for which he had reserved himself, having been under a persuasion, for some years before, that he should see Mr. Horne become a

* The third edition of Mr. Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon was promoted by Bishop Horne, whose name stands first among the patrons to whom it is inscribed; though Bishop Horne did not live till it was published.

Bishop. His discourse* on that occasion shewed him to be a true son and an able minister of the Church of England: and another discourse, originally delivered on a 30th of January, and reprinted since with large and curious annotations, has distinguished him for as firm and loyal a subject to his king and the laws of his country. Dr. Berkeley was very greatly esteemed by his patron the late Archbishop Secker, with whom he had much influence; and he never ceased to take advantage of it, till he had obtained preferment from him for one of his old friends, who had no other prospect. The father of Dr. Berkeley has been made known to the world by a few happy words of Mr. Pope: but the following anecdote, which is preserved among the private notes of Bishop Horne, will give us a more exact idea of his character. Bishop Atterbury, having heard much of Mr. Berkeley, wished to see him. Accordingly, he was one day introduced to him by the Earl of Berkeley. After some time, Mr. Berkeley left the room: on which Lord Berkeley said to the Bishop, "Does my cousin answer your Lordship's expectations?" The Bishop, lifting up his hands in astonishment, replied, "So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman." The passage is taken from Hughes's Letters. II. 2†.

* This Sermon is now published, and may, not improperly, be bound up with this volume, if the reader pleases. The title of it is, An Inquiry into the Origin of Episcopacy, in a Discourse preached at the Consecration of George Horne, D.D. &c. &c.

† Dr. Berkeley, the excellent son of an excellent father, changed this world (in which he had seen much trouble) for a better, on the day of Epiphany 1795, before the first edition of this work went to the press.

Mr. Samuel Glasse, a student of Christ-church, who had the repute he merited of being one of the best scholars from Westminster-school, was another of Mr. Horne's intimate friends, and continued to love and admire him through the whole course of his life. The world need not be told what Dr. Glasse has been doing since he left the University, as a divine, as a magistrate, and as a teacher and tutor of the first eminence; of whose useful labours, the Gospel, the law, the church, the bar, the schools of learning, the rich and the poor, have long felt and confessed the benefit: and may they long continue so to do! although it may be said, without any suspicion of flattery, in the words of the Poet—*non deficit alter aureus* —a son, whose learning, abilities, and good principles have already entitled him to the thanks of his country, and will secure his fame with posterity.

This gentleman, the son of Dr. G., distinguished himself very early in life by his uncommon proficiency in Hebrew literature, which procured him the favour of Dr. Kennicott, and a studentship of Christ-church. He has since acquired a great addition of fame as a classical scholar, by his elegant translation into Greek Iambics of Mason's Caractacus, and Milton's Samson Agonistes, adapted in form, and style, and manner, to the ancient Greek drama*. And he has recently

* Though I speak with respect of this, as a work of great scholarship, and even wonderful in a young man, I have my doubts, whether any Englishman can exhibit unexceptionable Greek versification, in which a Critic cannot, with a microscope in his hand, and a little jealousy in his eye, discover flaws and pinholes: and that a Greek version of a fine English Poem, whoever produces it, will at last be but a bad likeness of a good thing: which may be said without impeaching the parts or the diligence of any translator. When a man writes in a dead language, he does it at a great

shewn himself an elegant English writer, as well as a pious and well informed divine, by his publication of the Contemplations of Bishop Hall, in a form very much improved. He had prepared a Dedication of that excellent work to Bishop Horne; but the Bishop dying, while the work was depending, an advertisement is prefixed, which does great honour to his memory.

From Westminster-school there came, at an earlier period, a Mr. John Hamilton of University College, whose father was a member of the Irish Parliament, and his mother a lady of high rank. This amiable young man, for the politeness of his behaviour, his high accomplishments, his vivacity of temper and readiness of wit, was a companion equally respectable and desirable; so nearly allied in disposition and abilities to the two characters of Mr. Watson and Mr. Horne, that a strict friendship grew up between them. The example of some seducing companions from Westminster-school had rendered him for a while dissipated and thoughtless: but when the time approached, in which he was required to prepare himself for holy orders, he determined to become a clergyman in good earnest; gave himself up to study and retirement; and was known to rise frequently at four o'clock in a summer's morning, to read the works of St. Austin. With this disposition, it is no wonder he was ready to embrace every opportunity of deriving more light to his Christian studies. He therefore soon became a Hebrew student

hazard: and I have heard this matter carried to such a nicety by a person of distinguished learning, as to suppose it dangerous, even in Latin composition, to put a noun and a verb together, unless you can find that noun and that verb actually standing together in some native Latin writer of allowed authority.

in common with his friends, and made a rapid progress in divinity. For a time he took upon himself the curacy of Bedington in Surrey: but he was soon advanced to the archdeaconry of Raphoe in Ireland, having first obtained a presentation to the valuable living of Taboyne; where, to the loss of the world, and the unspeakable grief of the author of these papers, to whom he was a most affectionate and valuable friend, he soon afterwards died. In the beginning of his indisposition, he had been almost miraculously restored at Bristol in the spring of the year 1754, just at the time when the living was given to him by Lord Abercorn his relation, and the dignity superadded by the Bishop of the diocese. Ireland was a stage, on which his learning and principles, his active zeal, his polite manners and great abilities, were much wanted. They have at this time but a mean opinion of that kind of learning which this young archdeacon so much valued and affected. Had he lived, he might have done much good in bringing over many considerable persons to an attentive study of the Scripture, which had produced so happy an effect upon himself. But, alas! instead of this, it is now reported, that the country has been considerably hurt in its principles by some modern writings, which have lately come into vogue; of which it is not my business in this place to speak more particularly.

It has given me great pleasure, thus to take a review, hasty as it has been, of some of those excellent persons with whom Mr. Horne was connected in the days of his youth. A reader, who is a stranger to all the parties, may suspect that I have turned my pen to the making of extraordinary characters; but I trust he will take my word for it, that I have only made them such as I found them; and such as the late

good Bishop their friend would have represented them, had he been alive and called upon to do them justice. I am convinced, his own pen would have given more to some, not less to any: and that he would have mentioned others of whom I have not spoken; for certainly I might have added many to the collection; such as the Rev. John Auchmuty, whose father was Dean of Armagh, and who used to amuse us with an account of his adventures at Tetuan in Africa, during his chaplainship under Admiral Forbes: Mr. James Stillingfleet, a grandson to the celebrated and learned Bishop of that name; first one of the Hebrew Exhibitioners at Wadham College; afterwards Fellow of Merton, and late Prebendary of Worcester: Mr. George Downing, another Hebrew Exhibitioner at Wadham College, and afterwards a Prebendary of Ely, whom Mr. Horne admired and respected for those virtues and qualifications, which have endeared him to all his acquaintance. To these I might add Mr. Edward Stillingfleet, a Gentleman Commoner of Wadham; the Reverend John Whitaker, now so well known by his learned and valuable writings; with others of like character and literature, to none of whom do I mean any disrespect if I have omitted them. There was one very learned gentleman in particular, Mr. Forster of Corpus Christi College, who published a beautiful quarto edition of the Hebrew Bible. He had the reputation of being a profound scholar, and was a great favourite with Bishop Butler, author of the celebrated *Analogy*, &c. This learned man introduced himself to Mr. Horne's acquaintance, only for the opportunity of conferring with him on some principles which he had newly adopted in Philosophy and Divinity. How far Mr. Horne and Mr. Forster proceeded in the argument, I cannot exactly

say; but this I well remember, that, when the *consubstantiality* of the *elements* came into question, Mr. Forster did not seem to think *that* doctrine improbable, which later enquiries have rendered much less so: and allowed, that if the public were once satisfied in that particular, he believed very few objections would be made to the philosophical scheme of Mr. Hutchinson *.

I am now to conclude with a character, which I introduce with some reluctance; but it is too remarkable to be omitted in an account of Mr. Horne's literary connections; and some useful moral attends it in every circumstance: the character I mean is that of the late Dr. Dodd. Humanity should speak as tenderly of him as truth will permit, in consideration of his severe and lamentable fate.

A similitude in their studies and their principles produced an acquaintance between Mr. Horne and Mr. Dodd: for when Mr. Dodd began the world, he was a zealous favourer of Hebrew learning, and distinguished himself as a preacher; in which capacity he undoubtedly excelled to a certain degree, and in his time did much good. After Mr. Dodd had been noticed in the University of Cambridge for some of his exercises, he made himself known to the public by an English poetical translation of Callimachus, in which he discovered a poetical genius. Of the Preface to the translation of Callimachus, which gives the best general account, that was ever given in so short a compass, of the Heathen Mythology, the greater part was written for him by Mr. Horne. It is supposed, with good reason, that Mr. Dodd was obliged to others of his friends for several useful notes on the text of

* See Mr. Horne's Apology; where this conference with Mr. Forster is alluded to.

Callimachus. He makes a particular acknowledgment to the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst, "from whose sound judgment, enlarged understanding, unwearied application, and generous openness of heart, the world has great and valuable fruits to expect." Archbishop Secker conceived a favourable opinion of Mr. Dodd, from his performances in the pulpit; and it was probably owing to the influence of the Archbishop, that he was appointed to preach the sermons at Lady Moyer's Lectures. But this unhappy gentleman, having a strong desire, like many other young men of parts, to make a figure in the world, with a turn to an expensive way of living; and finding that his friends, who unhappily were suffering under the damnatory title of *Hutchinsonians*, would never be permitted (as the report then was) to rise to any eminence in the Church; Mr. Dodd thought it more prudent to leave them to their fate, with the hope of succeeding better in some other way: and to purge himself in the eye of the world, he wrote expressly against them; laying many grievous things to their charge: some of which were true, when applied to particular persons; some greatly exaggerated; and some utterly false; as it may well be imagined, when it is considered that the author was writing to serve an interest *.

* When it was under deliberation whether any answer should be given to this book of Mr. Dodd's, Mr. Horne objected to it in the following terms, which discover his great prudence and judgment. "Whoever shall answer it, will be under the necessity of appearing as a partizan, which in these times should be avoided as much as possible. I had much rather the name of Hutchinson were dropped, and the useful things in him recommended to the world, with their evidence, in another manner than they have been. Mankind are tired and sick (I am sure I am for one) with the fruitless squabbles and altercations about etymologies and particularities. In the mean time, the great plan of Philosophy and Theology, that must instruct and edify, lies dormant."

There could be no better judge than Mr. Dodd himself of the motives on which he had assumed a new character. He certainly did himself some good, in the opinion of those, who thought he was grown wiser: but being sensible how far he had carried some things, and how much he had lost himself, in the esteem of his old friends, he was anxious to know what some of them said about him. He therefore applied himself one day to a lady of great understanding and piety, who knew him well, and who also knew most of them; desiring her to tell him what Mr. such an one said of him? He says of you, answered she—*Demas hath forsaken us, having loved this present world:* with which he appeared to be much affected. Not that the thing had actually been said, so far as I know *, by the person in question; but she, knowing the propriety with which it might have been said, gave him the credit of it. There was a general appearance of vanity about Mr. Dodd, which was particularly disgusting to Mr. Horne, who had none of it himself; and the levity, with which he had totally cast off his former studies, being added to it, both together determined him to drop the acquaintance with little hesitation. He not only avoided his company, but conceiving a dislike as well to his moral as to his literary character, is supposed to have given such an account of him in one of the public papers as made him very ridiculous, under the name of *Tom Dingle*. Not long afterwards Mr. Foote brought him upon the stage for a transaction which reflected great dishonour upon a clergyman, and for which the King ordered him to be struck off the list of his chaplains.

The revolt of Mr. Dodd, if he meant to raise himself in the world by it, did by no means answer his

* But I am now informed, it actually was said.

purpose. It brought him into favour with Lord Chesterfield; but that did much more hurt to his mind, than good to his fortune. The farther he advanced in life, the more he became embarrassed: and his moral conduct was commonly known to be so far depraved, that a late celebrated gentleman of Clapham, who was privy to it, is said to have predicted some years before, that he would come to an untimely end. How unsearchable are the wisdom and justice of divine Providence! The worldly policy of Dr. Dodd lost him the friendship of some wise and good men, particularly of Mr. Horne, but procured for him the favour of Lord Chesterfield; and that favour tempted him to another step of policy, which brought him to his death. The memory of Dr. Johnson is much to be honoured for the tender part he took in behalf of Dr. Dodd during the time of his affliction. And let it be remembered, in justice to his former friends, that few persons were more deeply affected by his lamentable end than some of those who had been under the necessity of dropping his acquaintance. I have it on the best authority, that one of them kept a solemn fast till night on the day of his execution, and afterwards moralized very seriously upon his fate in one of the newspapers of the time.

From this account of Mr. Horne's friends and acquaintance I return now to the history of his studies. When a young man of a vigorous mind determines, in these latter days of the Church, to make himself learned, he is in great danger, from the books he may read, and the company into which he may fall; notwithstanding the integrity of his mind, and the purity of his intentions. If he join himself to a party, he will be under the influence of an affection, which is very properly called partiality; and which inclines him to favour the measures of his party indiscriminately; and

therefore does great hurt to the judgment. He is apt to praise and censure, to love and hate, not with his own spirit, but with the spirit of his party. With their singularities, whatever they may be, he will find little fault; and if they have errors, they are such as he will not soon discover. To this danger Mr. Horne was exposed as a reader of Hutchinson. I shall therefore describe it more particularly, and shew how and by what means he escaped it in all its parts, and preserved the independency of his understanding: in doing which, if I can do it faithfully, I shall certainly make myself of some use to the public.

Mr. Hutchinson fell into a new and uncommon train of thinking in Philosophy, Theology, and Heathen Antiquity; and appears to have learned much of it from the Hebrew, which he studied in a way of his own: but as he laid too great a stress in many instances on the evidence of Hebrew Etymology, his admirers would naturally do the same: and some of them carried the matter so far, that nothing else would go down with them; till by degrees they adopted a mode of speaking, which had a nearer resemblance to cant and jargon, than to sound and sober learning. To this weakness those persons were most liable, who had received the fewest advantages from a learned education. This was the case with some sensible tradesmen and mechanics, who, by studying Hebrew, with the assistance of English only, grew conceited of their learning, and carried too much sail with too little ballast. Of this Mr. Horne was very soon aware; and he was in so little danger of following the example, that I used to hear him display the foibles of such persons with that mirth and good humour which he had ready at hand upon all occasions. With the like discretion and candour, he allowed to

the Rev. Dr. Sharp of Durham all that could reasonably be allowed, when he attacked the followers of Hutchinson upon the Etymological quarter, where they seemed most vulnerable, or, where they might at least be annoyed with most appearance of advantage: and he never, through the whole course of his life, was a friend to the etymological part of the controversy; as it appears from his writings; in which Hebrew etymology, however he might apply to it for himself, is rarely if ever insisted upon. In some of his private letters, one of which has been already referred to in a note, he declared his mind very freely on the inexpediency of squabbling about words, when there were so many things to be brought forward, which were of greater importance, and would admit of less dispute.

A farther danger arose from that custom, in which some of the followers of Mr. Hutchinson had too freely indulged themselves, of treating their opponents with too great asperity and contempt. Hutchinson himself was very reprehensible in this respect, as well in his conversation as in his writings; and thereby lost much of that influence with men of learning, which he might have preserved, had he considered it as a duty to be more temperate and flexible in his manner of addressing the public. But he was a man of a warm and hasty spirit, like Martin Luther: who to certain modern speculations in Philosophy and Theology could preserve no more respect than Luther did to the errors of Popery. How far the circumstances they both were under, the zeal by which they were actuated, and the provocations they met with from the world, will justify them in the use of intemperate language, can be known only to God, to whom they must give an account. But whatever excuses may be made for the

principals, we do not see how they can be extended to those who succeeded. Some of these however did claim for themselves the like privilege, and gave great offence to persons of cooler judgment. The world will not suffer things to be forced upon them. When men are angry, it is always supposed they have but little to say, and are provoked by a sense of the insufficiency of themselves and their cause. It was a wise saying of Lord Coke, the famous lawyer, "Whatever grief a man hath, ill words work no good, and learned counsel never use them." To this wise and excellent maxim the followers of Mr. Hutchinson did not in general attend as they ought to have done. It filled them with indignation, to see how little they prevailed against the perverse treatment of some ill-disposed adversaries: and if they had found such principles as they thought of use to themselves, it was a mortification to see them overlooked and disdained by others. But there was so much sweetness in the natural temper of Mr. Horne, that no bitter weed could take root there: and the intemperance of others only served to put him the more upon his guard; of which we have a happy example in his State of the Case between Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Hutchinson. This was one of his earliest compositions; in which the argument is conducted throughout with perfect modesty, civility, and a proper respect to all parties. I have heard him admire greatly that calmness for which the Chinese are so remarkable, although it borders in some degree upon cunning or stupidity. "The only way for a man to gain the favour of the Chinese is to set forth his reasons in the coolest manner; that people being of such a disposition, as to despise the most rational arguments, if delivered with anger." The same, said he, is true of mankind in general.

The learning, which disposes us to affect a superiority over other men is too generally attended by a forgetfulness of God: and it has therefore been well observed, that knowledge though a good thing in itself, as light is when compared with darkness, is apt to puff us up: while charity, which is an humble and submissive virtue, edifieth; that is, builds up in the way of grace, and makes us better Christians. So far as knowledge, though of the purest sort, infuses pride, just so far it extinguishes devotion. It was therefore objected to the new Hebrew students, that they were a carnal sort of people, so full of scriptural learning, as to be much wanting in a due regard to scriptural piety. The intelligent reader will easily guess from what quarter such an accusation would arise. It came from those who are apt to offend in another way; who suppose that an appearance of godly zeal, and a passion to save souls, will supply the defects of Christian knowledge: but without it there will not be Christian prudence; and such persons, neglecting to inform themselves, suffer under the want of judgment, and are carried into delusion, of which they do not see the consequences. Ignorant piety, like ignorant ingenuity, must go to school, before it will be able to work surely and with good effect. It must itself be taught before it can be fit to teach others. The great Lord Bacon observed of the first Puritans, that they reasoned powerfully on the necessity of a serious piety; and brought men well to the question, *what must I do to be saved?* But when they had done this, they were at a loss how to give them an answer. There is danger to man on every side: learning is tempted to overlook piety; and piety thinks there is no use of learning. Happy is he who preserves himself from both these errors: who, while he seeks wisdom, applies it first to

the reformation of his own life, and then to the lives of other men! This appears to have been the persuasion of Mr. Horne; in whose earliest writings we find such a tincture of devotion, that some of his readers, who valued themselves upon their discernment, thought his warmth discovered a degree of enthusiasm; that he was devout overmuch; and consequently we have the testimony of such persons, that he was not wanting in Christian piety. Thus much at least may be affirmed, that he was in no danger of an outward formal religion, destitute of the vital spirit of Christianity.

There was yet another danger to be apprehended, and that of no small concern to a member of the Church of England. It happened, that among the admirers of Mr. Hutchinson there were many dissenters; who, with all the information they had acquired, did not appear (as might reasonably have been expected) to be much softened in their prejudices against the constitution of this Church.—With some of these Mr. Horne frequently fell into company: of which it was not an improbable consequence (and he afterwards was aware of it) that he might come by degrees to be less affected, than he ought to be, to the Church of which he was a member: especially as there was some jealousy already in the minds of Mr. Hutchinson's readers against their superiors both in Church and State, on account of the unfair and angry treatment (I may say, persecution) some of them had suffered, and the dislike and aversion which their principles had met with from persons of established reputation. The modest and civil Letter to a Bishop, from the Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, the Honourable Duncan Forbes, had met with little or no attention; which, with many other slights and provocations, contributed to keep them in no very good

humour; so that it was to be feared they would be too ready to hear, what others might be too ready to suggest. With some of our dissenters, it is too much the custom to turn the clergy of the Church and their profession into ridicule; a sort of behaviour which should always be avoided by religious men, when religion is the subject. A piece was handed about, which calls itself a Dialogue upon Bishops; a sly and malignant invective, in a strain of irony, and by no means destitute of wit, against the Prelates of this Church. The thing is written in the same spirit with the Martin Mar-Prelate of the old Puritans, though in a superior strain of irony; and had for its author a man whose name was Biron, a Dissenting Teacher of eminence; whose works are collected together, and published, under the terrific title of *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken.* The Church of England, whose religion is here intended by the word *priestcraft,* never had a more willing adversary than this man; unless it were *Gordon,* the author of the *Independent Whig;* whose writings, plentifully dispersed there, contributed not a little to the revolt of America, by rendering the Americans more disaffected to the religion of the mother country.

So long as a connection remained with the non-conforming readers of Mr. Hutchinson, it was expected by them, that all Church differences would be laid aside, as matters of no signification; and that both parties would join hands against the common enemies of Christianity. Things being thus disposed, an occurrence intervened, to which Mr. Horne, as it appears from some of his letters, imputed the breach which afterwards took place, and his own deliverance, in consequence of it, from all danger of fanatical infection.

Dr. Clayton, then Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, in the year 1750, published his Essay on Spirit, with design to recommend the Arian doctrine, and to prepare the way for suitable alterations in the Liturgy. The favourers of heresy are seldom found to be the enemies of schism: this author therefore, to strengthen his party, distinguished himself as a warm friend to the cause of the Sectaries; intimidating the Church with the prospect of destruction, unless the safety of it were provided for by a timely compliance with the demands of its adversaries. This Essay, being reported to come from a person of such eminence in the Church, alarmed her friends and animated her enemies. It carried with it a show of learning, and some subtilty of argument; an answer to it was therefore expected and wished for.

It happened at this time, that I was settled at Finedon in Northamptonshire, as Curate to the Reverend Sir John Dolben; which I have reason to remember as a most happy circumstance in the early part of my life. In this situation I was frequently visited by my friend and fellow-student Mr. Horne. He came to me, possessed with a desire of seeing an Answer to this Essay on Spirit; and persuaded me to undertake it. All circumstances being favourable, no objection was made; and accordingly down we sat together for a whole month to the business. The house of my patron Sir John Dolben had an excellent library; a considerable part of which had descended from Archbishop Dolben; and it was furnished with books in every branch of reading, as well ancient as modern, but particularly in divinity and ecclesiastical history. In a country parish, without such an advantage, our attempt had been wild and hopeless: but with it, we had no fear of being at a loss concerning any point of

learning that might arise. What Bishop Clayton (supposing him to be the author of an Essay on Spirit) had offered in favour of the non-conformists, obliged us to look into the controversy between them and the Church, which as yet we had never considered; and to consult such historians as had given a faithful account of it. This inquiry brought many things to our view, of which we had never heard; and contributed very much to confirm us in the profession to which we had been educated: but, at the same time, it raised in our minds some new suspicions against our non-conforming friends; and the occasion called upon us to say some things which it could not be very agreeable to them to hear, so long as they persisted in their separation. In every controversy, there will be some rough places, over which the tender-footed will not be able to pass without being hurt; and when this happens they will probably lay upon others that fault which is to be found only in themselves. It happened as might be expected. When the Answer was published, great offence was taken; and they who had argued for us, as Christians, in a common cause, began now to shew themselves as enemies to the Church of England. They addressed themselves to us in such a strain, to the one by letter, to the other in conversation, as had no tendency to soften or conciliate; for it breathed nothing but contempt and defiance. It had therefore the good effect of obliging us to go on still farther in our inquiries, that we might be able to stand our ground. To this occurrence it was first owing, that Mr. Horne became so well learned in the controversy between the Church and the Sectaries, and was confirmed for life in his attachment to the Church of England *. It

* The following extract from a long letter will show how his mind was employed at the time when it was written: "I have been

was another happy circumstance, that in the issue, by persons of more impartiality, the Answer to the Essay on Spirit, on which we had bestowed so much labour, was very favourably received; especially in Ireland, where it was most wanted. The work was rendered more useful by the opportunity it gave us of explaining some abstruse articles in the learning of antiquity; particularly, the Hermetic, Pythagorean and Platonic Trinities; which the writer of the Essay had pressed into his service, to distract the minds of his readers, without pretending to know the sense of them. We had the advantage of the author in this subject, from having been permitted to look into some manuscript papers of a learned gentleman, who had spent several years of his life in studying the mysteries of the ancient

reading some of the works of Dr. George Hickes against the Romanists. He is a sound and acute reasoner, and differs from Leslie in this, that whereas Leslie's method was, to single out one point which he calls the *jugulum causæ*, and stick to that; Hickes follows them through all their objections: unravels their sophistry, and confirms all he says with exact and elaborate proofs. He shews the greatest knowledge of primitive antiquity, of fathers, councils, and the constitution and discipline of the Church in the first and purest ages of it. This kind of learning is of much greater value and consequence than many now apprehend. What, next after the Bible, can demand a Christian's attention before the history of the Church, purchased by the blood of Christ, founded by inspired apostles, and actuated by a spirit of love and unity, which made a heaven upon earth even in the midst of persecution, and enabled them to lay down their lives for the truth's sake? Much I am sure is done by that cementing bond of the spirit, which unites Christians to their head and to one another, and makes them consider themselves as members of the same body, that is as a church, as a fold of sheep, not as straggling individuals.—What I see of this in a certain class of writers determines me to look into that affair." Such a man as this, so far advanced in the days of his youth, would pay but little regard to shallow reasonings and hasty language from the enemies of uniformity.

Greek Philosophy; which, at the bottom, always proved to be Materialism. In this the speculations of Heathen Philosophers naturally ended: and so do the speculations of those moderns who follow them in their ways of reasoning.

From our frequent intercourse with the library above mentioned, we had the good fortune to meet with the works of the Rev. Charles Leslie in two vols. fol. which may be considered as a library in themselves to any young student of the Church of England; and no such person, who takes a fancy to what he there finds, can ever fall into Socinianism, Fanaticism, Popery, or any other of those modern corruptions which infest this Church and Nation. Every treatise comprehended in that collection is incomparable in its way: and I shall never forget how Mr. Horne expressed his astonishment, when he had perused what Mr. Leslie calls *the History of Sin and Heresy*; which, from the hints that are found in the Scriptures, gives an account how they, Sin and Heresy, were generated among the Angels before the beginning of the world: "It is," said he, "as if the man had looked into Heaven, to see what passed there, on occasion of Lucifer's rebellion."

In reading Mr. Leslie's Socinian controversy, he was highly amused with a curiosity, which the author by good fortune, though with great difficulty, had procured and presented to the public in an English translation from the Arabic. It is a letter addressed to the Morocco Ambassador, by two of the Socinian fraternity in England, who called themselves *Two single Philosophers*, and proposed a religious comprehension with the Turks: the said Socinians having discovered, that the Turks and themselves were so nearly of one opinion, that very little was wanting

on either side to unite them in the same communion. The late very learned Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Horsley, lighted upon the same thing many years afterwards, and was so much struck with its singularity, that he has referred to it in his works, to show how naturally the religion of the Socinians ends in the enthusiasm of Mahomet.

The sight of Mr. Leslie's two Theological folios prepared Mr. Horne for reading such of his Political works as should afterwards fall in his way: and it was not long before he met with a periodical paper, under the title of *The Rehearsals*, which the Author had published in the time of Queen Anne, when the Infidels and Dissenters were most busy; and had conceived strong hopes (as they said themselves) of destroying the established Church. This paper boldly encountered all their arguments; dissected Sidney and Locke; confuted the republican principles, and exposed all the designs of the party. That party, however, had, at that time, interest enough to get the paper, which bore so hard upon them, suppressed by authority: but not till the writer had done the best of his work: which made him boast, notwithstanding what had happened, that he had sown those seeds of orthodoxy and loyalty in this kingdom, which *all the devils in hell would never be able to root out of it.* This singular work, then lately reprinted in six volumes (1750) fell into the hands of Mr. Horne at Oxford, and was examined with equal curiosity and attention. According to his own account, he had profited greatly by the reading of it; and the work, which gave to one man of genius and discernment so much satisfaction, must have had its effect on many others; insomuch that it is highly probable, the loyalty found amongst us at this day, and by which the nation

has of late been so happily preserved, may have grown up from some of the seeds then sown by Mr. Leslie: and I have some authority for what I say *. This I know, that the reading of that work begat in the mind of Mr. Horne an early and strict attention to those political differences, and the grounds of them, which have at sundry times agitated this country, and disturbed public affairs.

In the year when the *Jew Bill* was depending, and after it had passed the house, he frequently employed himself in sending to an evening paper of the time certain communications, which were much noticed; while the author was totally unknown, except to some of his nearest acquaintance. By the favour of a great Lady, it was my fortune, (though then very young) to be at a table, where some persons of the first quality were assembled; and I heard one of them † very earnest on the matter and style of some of these papers, of which I knew the secret history; and was not a little diverted when I heard what passed about them. To the author of those papers the *Jew Bill* gave much offence, and the *Marriage Bill* not much less. He was highly gratified by the part taken in that perilous business by the Reverend William Romaine, who opposed the *Considerations* dispersed about the kingdom in defence of the Jew Bill, with a degree of spirit and success, which reminded us of Swift's opposition to Wood's Half-pence in his Drapier's Letters.

Mr. Horne having entered upon his first Hebrew

* No farther proof of this will be wanting to those intelligent persons, who have read the learned Mr. Whitaker's Real Origin of Government, one of the greatest and best pieces the times have produced.

† Lord Temple.

studies, not without an ardent piety, he was ready to lay hold of every thing that might advance him in the knowledge and practice of the Christian life. He accordingly made himself well acquainted with the serious, practical writings of the Reverend William Law, which, I believe, were first recommended to him by Mr. Hamilton, afterwards Archdeacon of Raphoe in Ireland, or by the Reverend Doctor Patten of Corpus Christi College. He conformed himself in many respects to the strictness of Mr. Law's rules of devotion; but without any danger of falling, as so many did, after Mr. Law's example, into the stupendous reveries of Jacob Behmen, the German Theosophist. From this he was effectually secured by his attachment to the doctrines and forms of the primitive Church, in which he was well grounded by the writings of Leslie, and also of the Primitive Fathers, some of which were become familiar to him, and very highly esteemed. But being sensible how easy it was for many of those who took their piety from Mr. Law, to take his errors along with it, he drew up a very useful paper, for the security of such persons as might not have judgment enough to distinguish properly, under the title of *Cautions to the Readers of Mr. Law:* and excellent they are for the purpose intended: they show the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his judgment.

Some worthy ladies, who were in the habit of reading Mr. Law, had from thence filled their heads with several of the wild notions of Jacob Behmen; and were zealous in making proselytes. A lady of fashion in Ireland, of the first rate for beauty, elegance, and accomplishment, was going apace into this way, at the instance of a proselyting acquaintance. Her situation was known and lamented; and it was ear-

nestly wished that somebody would undertake to open her eyes before she was too far gone. Mr. Horne, though much interested in the success of such an attempt, did not take the office upon himself, but committed it to a friend; and the paper produced the desired effect.

When the writings of Leslie, or Law, or Hutchinson, were before Mr. Horne, he used them with judgment and moderation, to qualify and temper each other: he took what was excellent from all, without admitting what was exceptionable from any. To his academical Greek and Latin he had added a familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew; and having found his way to the Christian Fathers, I consider him now as a person furnished with every light, and secured from every danger, which could possibly occur to him as a member of the Church of England; and consequently well prepared for any service which the times might require of him. In English divinity, he had also greatly improved himself by the writings of Dr. Jackson, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor: from the latter of which, I suppose him to have derived much of that mildness and devotion, for which he was afterwards so conspicuous*. The former, Dr. Jackson, is a magazine of theological learning, every where penned with great elegance and dignity, so that his style is a pattern of perfection. His writings, once thought inestimable by every body but

* From many passages which might be produced from his private letters and his printed works, no English writer seems to have taken his fancy, and fallen in so exactly with his own disposition, as Dr. Taylor; first, in his Life of Christ, then in his Ductor Dubitantium, or Rule of Conscience, and afterwards in his Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying, which he calls a Golden Tract, and the author of it the inimitable Bishop Jeremy Taylor. See his Commentary on Psalm cxix. ver. 71.

the Calvinists, had been greatly neglected, and would probably have continued so, but for the praises bestowed upon them by the celebrated Mr. Merrick of Trinity College, in Oxford, who brought them once more into repute with many learned readers. The early extracts of Mr. Horne, which are now remaining, show how much information he derived from this excellent writer; who deserves to be numbered with the English Fathers of the Church. That there cannot be in the Church of England a useful scholar, unless he is precise in following the same track of learning, I will not presume to say; but this I shall always think, that if we are ever to see another Mr. Horne; a commentator, so learned; a preacher, so evangelical; a writer, so accomplished; a Christian, so exemplary; he must come out of the same school.

With his mind thus furnished, the time drew near when he was to take holy orders. This was a serious affair to him: and he entered upon it, as every candidate ought to do, with a resolution to apply the studies he had followed to the practice of his ministry; and, above all the rest, his study of the Holy Scripture. Soon after he had been ordained, on Trinity Sunday, 1753, by the Bishop of Oxford, he related the circumstance by letter to an intimate friend, not without adding the following petition, which is well worth preserving: "May he, who ordered Peter three times to feed his lambs, give me grace, knowledge, and skill, to watch and attend to the flock, which he purchased upon the cross, and to give rest to those who are under the burden of sin or sorrow! It hath pleased God to call me to the ministry in very troublesome times indeed; when a lion and a bear have broken into the fold, and are making havock among the sheep. With a firm, though humble

confidence, do I purpose to go forth; not in my own strength, but in the strength of the Lord God; and may he prosper the work of my hands!" He came to me, then resident upon the curacy of Finedon in Northamptonshire, to preach his first sermon: to which, as it might be expected, I listened with no small attention; under an assurance, that his doctrine would be good, and that he was capable of adorning it to a high degree with beautiful language and a graceful delivery. The discourse he then preached, though excellent in its kind, is not printed among his other works. Scrupulous critics, he thought, might be of opinion, that he had given too great scope to his imagination; and that the text, in the sense he took it, was not a foundation solid enough to build so much upon. This was his sentiment when his judgment was more mature; and he seems to me to have judged rightly. Yet the discourse was admirable in respect of its composition and its moral tendency. Give me an audience of well disposed Christians, among whom there are no dry moralists, no fastidious critics; and I would stake my life upon the hazard of pleasing them all by the preaching of that sermon. With farther preparation, and a little more experience, he preached in a more public pulpit, before one of the largest and most polite congregations at London. The preacher, whose place he supplied, but who attended in the church on purpose to hear him, was so much affected by what he had heard, and the manner in which it was delivered, that when he visited me shortly after, in the country, he was so full of this sermon, that he gave me the matter and the method of it by heart; pronouncing at the end of it, what a writer of his life ought never to forget, that——"George Horne was, without exception, the

best preacher in England." Which testimony was the more valuable, because it came from a person, who had, with many people, the reputation of being such himself. This sermon is preserved; and if the reader should be a judge, and will take the pains to examine it, he will think it merits what is here said of it. The subject is the second advent of Christ to judgment. The text is from Rev. i. 7. *Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him. Even so. Amen* *.

Besides his talent for preaching, which from the beginning promised (and has now produced) great things; Mr. Horne had obtained so high a character at Oxford, for his humanity, condescension, and piety, that his reputation came to the ears of a criminal in the Castle, under sentence of death for one of the many highway robberies he had committed. The name of this man was Dumas; he was an Irishman by birth; and his appearance and address had so much of the gentleman, that he was a person of the first rank in his profession. This man having heard of Mr. Horne, as a person remarkable for his sense and goodness, requested the favour of his attendance; to which, on a principle of conscience, he consented; though the office was such as would probably put the tenderness of his mind to a very severe trial. And so it proved in the event; his health being considerably affected for some time afterwards. I do not find among his papers any minutes of this affair preserved in writing †: and though he gave me a large account of it, to which I could not but listen with great atten-

* See Serm. vol. i. Disc. 6.

† But the prayers he composed for the occasion are in one of his MSS.

tion, I cannot recollect so much of it as I wish to do, at this distance of time. This I know, that he used to think anxiously with himself day and night, in what manner he should address this unhappy man, and what kind of spiritual counsel would be most likely to succeed with him; for he found him, though ready and sensible enough in all common things, deplorably destitute of all religious knowledge. To the best of my remembrance he always chose to be quite alone with him when he attended; and by repeated applications, and constant prayer, recommended by his mild and engaging manner, thought he had made some considerable impression upon his mind. In the last conference before his execution, he thanked Mr. Horne very heartily for his goodness to him, and used these very remarkable words: "Sir, you may, perhaps, wonder at what I am about to tell you; but I do assure you, I feel at this moment no more sense of fear, than I should do if I were going a common journey." To this Mr. Horne answered, that he was indeed very much surprised; but he hoped it was upon a right principle. And so let us hope: though the criminal was scarcely explicit enough to give due satisfaction, whether this indifference proceeded from Christian hope or constitutional hardness. The conversation between the Ordinary and the prisoner the evening before he suffered (as Mr. Horne related it, who was present at the interview) consisted chiefly in an exact description of all the particulars of the ceremonial which the prisoner was to go through in the way to his death; and of course had very little either of comfort or instruction in it. The feelings of that gentleman, who had attended the executions for several years, were very different from those of his assistant; and he spoke of the approaching execution

with as little emotion, as if Mr. Dumas had taken a place for the next morning in an Oxford coach. He even amused himself with telling them the story of another unhappy criminal, who had nothing of the fortitude of Mr. Dumas; a person of the law, put to death for forgery, whose heart had failed him at the time of execution; "There was poor *Paul*," (said he) "we could not make him rise in the morning—he would not get up—I thought we should never have got him hanged that day," &c. Such is the effect of custom and habit upon some minds!

Thus was Mr. Horne initiated early into the most difficult duty of the pastoral charge, the visitation of the sick and dying: a work of extreme charity; but for which all men are not equally fit; some, because they have too little tenderness; others, because they have too much. It is a blessing that there are many helps and directions for those who wish to improve themselves. The office in the Liturgy is excellent in its kind, but it doth not come up to all cases. Among the posthumous papers of Bishop Horne, I find an inestimable manuscript, which it is probable he might begin to compile for his own use about this time, and partly for the occasion of which I have been speaking. He was by no means unacquainted with the matter and language of prayer; having shewn to me, as we were upon a walk one summer's evening in the country, when he was a very young man, that precious composition of Bishop Andrews, the first copy of which occurred to him in the library of Magdalen College; on which he set so great a value during the rest of his life, that, while he was Dean of Canterbury, he published, after the example of the excellent Dean Stanhope, his predecessor, a handsome English edition of it. The original is in Greek and Latin; and it happened

some time after Mr. Horne had first brought the work into request, that a great number of copies of the Greek and Latin edition were discovered in a warehouse at Oxford, where they had lain undisturbed in sheets for many years. In the copy published after Dean Stanhope's form, the Manual for the Sick, though the best thing extant upon its subject, is wholly omitted: but in the posthumous manuscript I speak of, the whole is put together, with improvements by the compiler; and I wish all the parochial clergy in the nation were possessed of it.

We are now coming to a more busy period of Mr. Horne's life, the year 1756, when he was called upon to be an apologist for himself and some of his friends, against the attack of a literary adversary.

In the controversy about Hebrew names, and their doubtful interpretations, in which the learned Dr. Sharp of Durham was prevailed upon (as it is reported, much against his will) to engage, Mr. Horne never interfered; as being of opinion, that, if all that part of Mr. Hutchinson's system were left to its fate, the most useful and valuable parts of it would still remain, with their evidences from the Scripture, the natural world, and the testimony of sacred and profane antiquity. He was likewise of opinion, that where *words* are the subject, words may be multiplied without end: and the witnesses of the dispute, at least the majority of them, having no competent knowledge of so uncommon a subject, would be sure to go as fashion and the current of the times should direct. That a zealous reader of the Hebrew, captivated by the curiosity of its etymologies, should pursue them beyond the bounds of prudence, is not to be wondered at. Many Hebrew etymologies are so well founded, and throw so much light on the learning of antiquity,

and the origin of languages, that no man can be a complete Philologist without a proper knowledge of them. The learned well know how useful Mr. Bryant has endeavoured to make himself of late years by following them: and yet, it must be confessed that, with all his learning, he has many fancies and peculiarities of his own, which he would find it difficult to maintain. If Mr. Hutchinson and his followers have been sometimes visionary in their criticisms, and carried things too far, it does not appear that the worst of their interpretations are so bad as those of some learned critics in the last century, who, from the allowed primævity of their favourite language, applied it without discretion to every thing. All the names in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were hebraised, and all his fables were derived from some history or other in the Bible: and this to such a degree, as was utterly improbable, and even childish and ridiculous*. Such are the weaknesses to which great scholars are subject, in common with other men: sometimes for want of light, and sometimes for want of discretion: and the greatest scholars of this age are not without them. Dr. Horne, I have reason to think, did so much justice to the criticisms of Dr. Sharp, as to read them carefully: which is more than I dare say of myself; and I may plead in my behalf the example of my learned and respectable friend Granville Sharp, Esq. the son of the Archdeacon; who very ingenuously owned to me, that he had never read his father's books in the Hutchinsonian controversy: perhaps, because he is as little inclined to logomachy as I am. However, I

* If the curious reader can meet with a book under the title of Ομηρος Εβραιζων, he will see this plan, of deriving all things from the Hebrew, carried to extremity. He may also find other examples, but not so extravagant, in Gale's Court of the Gentiles.

have seen enough to discover from the general tenor of them, that it seems to have been the design of that learned author, to raise difficulties, and throw things into the shade: in which he has apparently succeeded. When I look into a writer of the Hutchinsonian persuasion, though I may suspect his criticisms, and dislike his manner, I am animated by his zeal, and generally learn something useful: but when I look into the criticisms of Dr. Sharp, I learn nothing; I feel cold and dissatisfied with all languages and all science; as if the Scripture itself were out of tune, and divinity a mere dispute. It is therefore my persuasion, that his writings have done little service to Theology or Philology, but that they have operated rather as a discouragement; for who will labour, if there be no prospect of coming to any determination one way or the other? That I am not taking a part against Dr. Sharp, but that Dr. Sharp did in this respect take a part against himself, is evident from his own words; which do plainly declare, that his object in writing against the followers of Hutchinson was, to "prove the uncertainty of something affirmed to be certain." I know of some, who took the contrary part; endeavouring to prove "the certainty of something affirmed to be uncertain;" and I think they were more hopefully employed: for where uncertainty is the prize, what encouragement is there to strive for it? Mr. Horne, who knew the value of his time, had no inclination to waste any of it in this endless chace of verbal criticism: and I have reason to think, that, if there was any study in particular to which he took a complete aversion, it was the Hutchinsonian controversy about a few Hebrew words *.

* I have here allowed more than I can strictly justify; and, by so doing, I have given advantage to some, and offence to others;

Another dispute soon arose, after that of Dr. Sharp, which was of much greater concern; and so Mr. Horne thought, from the part he took in it. How he acquitted himself, the reader must judge when he has heard the particulars.

With many young scholars in the University of Oxford, the principles of Mr. Hutchinson began to be in such esteem, that some member of the University, who was in the opposite interest, or had no fancy to that way, made a very severe attack upon them in an anonymous pamphlet, intitled *A Word to the Hutchinsonians;* and Mr. Horne, being personally struck at, as the principal object of the author's animadversions, was obliged to take up the pen in defence of himself and his friends. The public in general, and Mr. Horne in particular, by some very broad hints, gave the thing to Mr. Kennicott of Exeter College, a man of parts, and a clear agreeable writer, who had very justly acquired some fame for his skill in the Hebrew language. His two Dissertations, one on the Tree of Life, and the other on the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, were in many hands, and so well approved,

I beg therefore to be rightly understood. In respect to Dr. Sharp, Mr. Horne was certainly of opinion, that the Doctor had left the more useful and valuable parts of Mr. Hutchinson's system untouched: so I myself have thought, and been assured from that day to this; and I believe the reader will himself be of the same opinion, if he duly considers the contents of my *Preface.* Whatever dislike Mr. Horne might express toward the verbal disputes of that time, no man could set a greater value than he did on Hebrew Learning discreetly followed and applied. That I may not be thought to leave so weighty a matter under an unjust statement, I have subjoined to this Edition a letter which I wrote to a person of honour, recommending the study of the Hebrew language by showing its usefulness and excellence. I embrace the present occasion of making it public, and wish it may derive some vitality from the reputation of Bishop Horne.

that some farther and better fruit of his studies might reasonably be expected. As to the author of this anonymous pamphlet, I can affirm nothing positively from my own knowledge: I can only relate what was told me by Dr. Golding of New College, who was afterwards Warden of Winchester. From this gentleman I heard what happened to himself in regard to the publication above mentioned, and what his own sentiments were. Soon after it appeared, Mr. Kennicott accosted him in a bookseller's shop, "Dr. Golding, I give you joy, on being the author of a very ingenious pamphlet, called A Word to the Hutchinsonians."—"Indeed," said Dr. Golding, "I was not the author of it; but I believe you know who was." When an answer had appeared, with the name of Mr. Horne to it, Dr. Golding, meeting Mr. Kennicott in the street, said, "Well, Mr. Kennicott, and who is the author of the Word to the Hutchinsonians *now?*" Which question was only answered by a laugh. The Dr. Golding, of whom I am speaking, had been a preacher much approved in the pulpit of the University, and had contended with some zeal for the principles of Hutchinson: but had now the reputation of having forsaken them all; which report might possibly give occasion to Mr. Kennicott's compliment; it being not improbable, that a person who could forsake them would make it his next step (as Dr. Dodd afterwards did) to write against them. He had been an intimate friend to the above-mentioned Mr. Watson of University College, who had recommended him to travel as a tutor with the Earl of Dartmouth and Mr. North, afterwards Lord North and Lord Guildford, with whom he spent some time abroad. He was undoubtedly a man of learning and ability: but being under the repute of having re-

nounced some principles he had once received, I was very desirous to know how that matter might be: and Dr. Golding, at my request, was so obliging as to do me the honour of a visit, while I lived at a private house in Oxford. I told him plainly, that there were some opinions of Hutchinson in Natural Philosophy, which, when properly distinguished, did appear to me to be true, and, as such, worth recommending to the world: and that, as I had some intention of taking the office upon myself, I should esteem it as a great favour, if he, being a person of more years and experience, would communicate to me fairly those objections, which had taken effect upon his own mind; that if I should be staggered with them, my design might be laid aside. The Doctor was full of pleasantry and good humour; gave me the whole story about the pamphlet, as above related, and spoke with great respect of Mr. Horne: but as to the particular object of my enquiry, his philosophical *reasons*, I could not succeed in drawing any one of them out of him, and am to this hour in the dark upon the subject. I shall not therefore indulge myself in speculations and conjectures, for which I have no authority; but only remark in general, what all men of discernment know to be true; that, as a man's opinions have an influence upon his expectations in this world, so his expectations in this world may have an influence upon his opinions. Hoping that I shall be pardoned for a small digression, not quite foreign to the subject in hand, I return now to Mr. Horne and his Apology *, of which I shall give a short view; but it is a work which cannot with-

* The title is—"An Apology for certain Gentlemen in the University of Oxford, aspersed in a late anonymous Pamphlet," &c. A new Edition, with a *new Preface*, is just published.

out injury be abridged; as comprehending a great variety of subjects in a small compass.

The temper of it appears in the first page. The excellent Hooker had replied to a petulant adversary in the following very significant words: "Your next argument consists of railing and reasons. To your railing I say nothing: to your reasons I say what follows." "This sentence," says the apologist, "I am obliged to adopt, as the rule of my own conduct; the author I am now concerned with having mixed with his arguments a great deal of bitterness and abuse, which must do as little credit to himself as service to his cause. He is in full expectation of being heartily abused in return: but I have no occasion for that sort of artillery: and have learned beside, that *the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.* Therefore, in the words of the excellent Hooker, *to his railing I say nothing: to his reasons I say what follows.*"

To the charge of being an Hutchinsonian, a name so invidiously applied, as a sectarian appellation, to himself and other readers of Hutchinson's writings, he answers, that, as Christians, they acknowledge no Master but one, that is, Christ: that they were members only of The Church: and that, as all their reading had not formed them into a Sect, they ought not to have a mark set upon them. "Is it not hard measure," says he, "that when a clergyman only preaches the doctrines and enforces the duties of Christianity from the Scriptures, his character shall be blasted, and himself rendered odious by the force of a name, which, in such cases, always signifies what the imposers please to mean, and the people to hate? There are many names of this kind now in vogue. If a man preaches Christ, that he is the end

of the law, and the fulness of the Gospel—'You need not mind him; he is a Hutchinsonian.' If he mentions the assistance and direction of the Holy Spirit, with the necessity of prayer, mortification, and the taking up of the cross—'O, he is a Methodist!' If he talks of the divine right of Episcopacy, with a word concerning the danger of Schism—'Just going over to Popery!' And if he preaches obedience to King George—'You may depend upon it, he is a Pretender's man.' Many things may be ridiculed under their false titles, which it would not be so decent to laugh at under their true ones."

As to their being a sect or combination of Separatists from the Church-of-England Christians, "We do," says he, "most sincerely disavow the name and the thing. In the communion of the Church of England we intend to die. To every zealous friend and promoter of the interest of Christianity, the Scriptures, and the Church, we are ready cheerfully to give the right hand of fellowship, whether he be a reader of Mr. Hutchinson *or not*," &c. "They tell men," (said their accuser) "that they, and they only, are the servants of the most high God, who shew forth the way of salvation:"—"they labour to discredit all other preachers." "By no means:" (says the answerer) "they labour to discredit all false doctrines, preached by many who SHOULD preach the Gospel. It is the complaint of hundreds of serious and pious Christians, who never read or heard of Mr. Hutchinson, that there is at present a lamentable falling off from the OLD way of preaching and expounding the word of God. And, if there be such a defection from the primitive manner of preaching, the proper place wherein to speak of it is in the Uni-

versity, where preachers are educated. If offence should be taken at this, I can only say, that if any one will tell me how truth may be spoken, in such cases as these, without offending *some*, I will spare no labour to learn the art of it."

If any person wishes to know all the particular charges brought forward by this author, and how they are answered, he will find the pamphlet at large a very curious piece, and to that I would refer him: but some of these answers carry so much instruction, that I cannot refrain from extracting a few of them. To the charge of their insulting and trampling upon reason, under pretence of glorifying revelation, Mr. Horne answers: "The abuse, not the use, of reason, is what we argue against. Reason, we say, was made to learn, not to teach. What the eye is to the body, reason or understanding is to the soul; as saith the apostle, Eph. i. 18, having the eyes of your understanding enlightened. The eye is framed in such a manner as to be capable of seeing; reason in such a manner as to be capable of knowing. But the eye, though ever so good, cannot see without light: reason, though ever so perfect, cannot know without instruction. Therefore the phrase, light of reason, is improper; because it is as absurd to make reason its own informer, as to make the eye the source of its own light: whereas reason can be no more than the organ which receives instruction, as the eye admits the light of heaven. A man may as well take a view of things upon earth in a dark night by the light of his own eye, as discover the things of heaven, during the night of nature, by the light of his own reason," &c.

To another similar objection, often made against them, that they decry natural religion, it is answered,

"To be sure, we do; because, at the best, it is a religion without the knowledge of the true God, or the hope of salvation; which is Deism: and it is a matter of fact, that, from Adam to this day, there never was, or could be, a man left to himself, to make a religion of nature. It is, we know, a received notion, that man, by a due and proper use of his reasoning faculties, may do great things: and so by a due and proper use of the organs of vision, he may know much of the objects around him. But still, the pinching question returns: Is it not light that enables him to make a due and proper use of the one, and instruction of the other? Shew us the eye that sees without light, and the understanding that reasons upon religion without instruction, and we will allow they both do it by the light of nature. Till then, let us hear no more of natural religion. And let me, on the subjects of reason and nature, recommend two books: the first, *Mr. Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists;* where the debate between them and the Christians upon the evidence of revelation is brought to a single point, and their cause overthrown for ever. This most excellent piece, with the other Tracts of the same author usually bound with it, have, I thank God, entirely removed every doubt from my mind: and, in my poor opinion, they render the metaphysical performances upon the subject entirely useless. The second book I would recommend is *Dr. Ellis's Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature.* In this book natural religion is fairly demolished."

Mr. Horne and his friends were farther charged with "a great contempt for learning." "But that," says he, "depends upon the nature and kind of the

learning. Because sometimes a man is called a learned man, who after a course of several years hard study, can tell you within a trifle, how many degrees of the non-entity of nothing must be annihilated, before it comes to be something. See King's Origin of Evil, ch. iii. p. 129, with the note. That such kind of learning as that book is filled with, and the present age is much given to admire, has done no service to the cause of truth, but on the contrary, that it has done infinite disservice, and almost reduced us from the unity of Christian faith to the wrangling of philosophic scepticism, is the opinion of many besides ourselves, and too surely founded on fatal experience."—"As to those who are engaged in the study of useful Arts and Sciences, Languages, History, Antiquities, Physics, &c. &c. with a view to make them handmaids to divine knowledge; we honour their employment, we desire to emulate their industry, and most sincerely wish them good luck in the name of the Lord." The Metaphysical System alluded to above was a book in great request at Cambridge between the years 1740 and 1750; and was extolled by some young men who studied it as a grand repository of human wisdom. The notes were written by Dr. Edmund Law, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. Having heard so high a character of it, I once sat down to read it, with a prejudice in its favour. I afterwards shewed it Mr. Horne: and, when he had considered it, we could not but lament in secret, what he at length complained of in public, that a work so unfounded and so unprofitable should have engaged the attention, and excited the admiration, of scholars, intended for the preaching of the Gospel. The acoount here given of it has some-

thing of the caricature; but the leading principle of the book is in substance as the apologist has described it.

Whoever the author of the pamphlet was, he seems to have entered upon his work with a persuasion, that the gentlemen of Oxford, to whom he gives the name of Hutchinsonians, were in such disesteem with the world, so little known by some, and so much disliked by others, that any bold attack upon their characters would be sufficient to run them down: and imagining that his book must have that effect, he foretels them how they must submit, in consequence of it, to "descend and sink into the deepest humiliation," &c. This is not criticism, but unmerciful outrage; and the author has so much of it, that the apologist, having collected it together, concludes with a very pathetic remonstrance: "These, sir, are *hard speeches* against men, of whom, their enemies themselves being judges, must own that they are sound in the faith, steady to the Church, and regular in their duties—Upon an impartial survey of all that has been said or written against us—I must declare, that *neither against the law, neither against the temple, neither against Cæsar*, is it proved that we have *offended any thing at all*," &c. &c.

The reader may perhaps observe upon what I have presented to him, and he would see it more plainly, if he were to read the whole book, as I would advise him to do, that the dispute relates chiefly to the foundations of religion. Of Mr. Hutchinson we hear but little; his name was the match that gave fire to the train: but the question seems really to have been this; whether Christianity, in the truth and spirit of it, ought to be preserved; or whether a spiritless thing called by the name of Christianity, would answer the purpose

better: in other words, whether the religion of Man's Philosophy, or the religion of God's Revelation, should prevail. If this was the question, a more important one was never agitated since the beginning of the Reformation; and every true Christian hath an interest in the issue of it. The temper with which Mr. Horne conducted himself, though under very great provocation, is very much to be admired. There never was a piece of invective more and completely taken down than in the Apology; the matter of it is both instructive and curious: several points of divinity, more than my short abstract would admit, are truly and clearly stated: and as to the characters of the writer himself and his friends, we see the crimes of which they were accused, and the defence they were able to make; of which defence those persons could form no judgment, who had taken their opinion of the parties from the *Reviews* and other disaffected publications of the time; unless they were wise enough to collect by inference, that where bad things were so much applauded, that which was dispraised and outraged must have some good in it. As to myself, I freely confess, I am to this hour delighted and edified by that Apology; and after so many years, I see no reason to depart from any one of its doctrines; but should be thankful to God, if all the young clergy of this church were almost and altogether such as Mr. Horne was when he wrote it; and I heartily rejoice that it is now republished, that they may have an opportunity of reading it. And I would advise, if it were possible, they should see what the learned Dr. Patten wrote in the same year; who was author of another Apology; which, with its defence against the Reverend Mr. Ralph Heathcote, displays the meekness of great learning against the vain blusterings of

great assurance *: and, to shew how the Reviews of this country impose upon the ignorant and the credulous, Mr. Heathcote was highly commended, and the character of Dr. Patten was taken from the representation of his adversary, without reading his book †.

But I must now proceed to another cause, which made more noise in the world, and is in itself of such importance, that it ought never to be forgotten.

After his Apology, Mr. Horne took a part in the controversy with Mr. Kennicott on the Text of the Hebrew Bible ‡; in which he and his friends so deeply interested themselves, on a principle of conscience as well as of literary evidence, that it is impossible for me to proceed in the task I have undertaken, without giving a plain and impartial account of what passed upon that occasion; and it will afford me an opportunity of bringing to light an extraordinary character of whom the world never heard.

Mr. Kennicott having distinguished himself as a person learned in the Hebrew: a proposal was set on foot by himself and his friends for collating the text of the Hebrew Bible with such manuscripts as could *now* be procured; in order to reform the Text, and prepare it for a new translation to be made from it into the English language. Mr. Kennicott explained at large the nature of this design, and attempted to

* What David Hume calls the illiberal Petulance, Arrogance, and Scurrility of the Warburtonian School. See his Life, page 21.

† Vestra solum legitis, vestra amatis: cæteros, causâ incognitâ, condemnatis. See the Crit. Rev. for April, 1756. In the year 1759 Dr. Patten preached another sermon before the University, which he printed. In this the subject of his two former pieces is continued, and the argument carried on farther, and well supported.

‡ In a pamphlet published in 1760, entitled, A View of Mr. Kennicott's Method of correcting the Hebrew Text, &c.

prove the necessity of such a measure, in some learned dissertations on the state of the printed Hebrew Bibles. The design came at length to maturity; Mr. Kennicott himself was appointed the sole conductor of it; and such powerful interest was made in its behalf, that persons of the first honour and eminence supported it by an annual subscription to a very great amount. Manuscripts were collected from all parts of the world; and a company of collators were employed under the eye of Mr. Kennicott at Oxford; who gave an annual account, attested by Dr. Hunt the Hebrew professor, of the state of the collation. The subscription was continued, and the work went on for several years. A new Hebrew Bible was at length printed in folio; a copy of the first volume of which came to the library of Sorbonne while I was at Paris in the year 1776, and was shewn to me by Mr. Asseline the Hebrew professor of that time *.

Far be it from me to speak with disrespect of an undertaking, which had the encouragement of so many great, so many good, and so many learned persons; who must be supposed to have acted with the best intention, in consequence of such reports as were laid before them; for many of them certainly had no judgment of their own upon the subject. But Mr. Horne, and some other readers of Hebrew never approved of the design from the beginning; and Dr. Rutherforth of Cambridge, a man of no small erudition, wrote professedly, and with some asperity, against it; or, at least, against the way in which he thought it would

* After the Revolution of 1789, this gentleman was made Bishop of Bologne by the King; but by reason of the increasing troubles, he went to Brussels, and afterwards into Germany. He is universally spoken of as a person of great worth and learning.

be executed. Some of the considerations they went upon were these following:

1. That the design was dangerous, and had a bad aspect. A new translation of the Bible into English had been strenuously recommended some years before by suspected persons with an ill intention *. That such persons, being not well affected to the Church of England or its doctrines, would probably interfere with all their heart and interest, to turn the design to their own purposes. For it was evident by the intention of Dr. Kennicott at first, that there should be both a New Hebrew Text, and a New English Version: and I am rather of opinion, that Mr. Horne and his friends, by their remonstrances, however apparently unnoticed, might have some little share of merit in preventing it.

2. It hurt and alarmed them to see a learned gentleman plead and argue, as if he had a victory to obtain by proving the corruption of the Hebrew Text, and it were the game he was hunting after; for this did not look as if the glory of God was the object in view, but rather his own emolument as a collator—*οπου το συμφερον, εκει το ευσεβες.*

3. They were of opinion, that the attempt was superfluous; because the exactness of the Masoretical Jews had guarded and secured the Text of their Bible in such a manner, that no other book in the world had

* It appears from a Life of Dr. Sykes, page 334, that the Socinians had great hopes from a new English Version of the Bible, by which *all our present learned illustrations of the S. S. were to be superseded*—all things were to become new—*the disciples were to become one fold*, and the *absolute unity of the peerless majesty of God was to be maintained by the whole community of Christians*—Socinianism alone was to introduce Paradise and the Millennium. The Socinians of Poland had a translation made; but it did not answer their purpose. See Mosheim's Hist. of Socinianism.

ever been so guarded and secured: that therefore there could not be room for any great alarm upon the subject.

4. That Cardinal Ximenes and his assistants, about two hundred years before, had carefully collated the Hebrew Text with manuscripts, older and better than were now to be met with in the world; and had exhibited a printed Hebrew Text, as perfect as could be expected or need be desired: because, by Mr. Kennicott's own confession, no such errors occurred in the Text as affected any point of doctrine; the various readings being chiefly to be found in dates and numbers, which are of less importance and more uncertain notation. That therefore, what Cardinal Ximenes had done in a better manner and with greater advantages, would now be done with more difficulty, and probably to less effect.

5. They apprehended, that the dispute about the Hebrew Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, &c. had been sufficiently agitated and judiciously stated by Carpzov of Leipsic in his writings against Whiston; so far at least as to shew, that no great things were to be expected from any adventurer, who should afterwards take the same ground. Carpzov's book was thought so useful and satisfactory, that Moses Marcus a converted Jew, had translated it into English.

6. A consideration which had great weight with Mr. Horne was that of the probable consequence of an undertaking so conducted as this was likely to be. Unbelievers, Sceptics, and Heretics, of this country, who had affected superior learning, had always been busy in finding imaginary corruptions in the Text of Scripture: and would in future be more bold and busy than ever; as the work of confounding the Text by unsound criticism would be carried on with the sanc-

tion of public authority, and the Bible left open to the experiments of evil-minded critics and cavillers. For besides the collating of manuscripts, the collator, in his Dissertations, had opened three other fountains of criticism, by which the waters of the Sanctuary were to be healed: the Ancient Versions, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and sound Criticism. Having considered these in their order, Mr. Horne sets before his readers above twenty instances from Mr. Kennicott's own books, as a specimen of his manner of proceeding; to shew, "what an inundation of licentious criticism was breaking in upon the sacred Text." These instances are such as fully justify his reflections; which the reader may find at p. 12, &c. of his View of Mr. Kennicott's Method, &c.

Such were the considerations on which Mr. Horne and his friends opposed Mr. K's undertaking; and, it is hoped, nothing has appeared to their disadvantage. In the progress of the controversy, some other considerations arose, which served to confirm them in the part they had taken. They observed that Mr. Kennicott changed his ground: first urging the necessity of a *new Text* for the purpose of a new English Version; and afterwards giving it up, without assigning his reasons. Another fact arose, which was palpably contrary to his own principles. When the design was to come forward, he had objected to the labours of Cardinal Ximenes, as being ineffective, because he admitted manuscripts furnished by Jews: but, when the work was to be carried on, he himself made Jews his agents to collect manuscripts for him in foreign parts, and admitted them, so far as we know, without reserve: and with this remarkable difference, that the Jews of the Cardinal were turned Christians; whereas the Jews of Mr. Kennicott were still in their unbelief—

except one; and he was of a character so extraordinary that the reader cannot be displeased if I give some account of him; without which, so great a curiosity would, in all probability, be lost to the world. While the work of collation was going forward, it so happened, that Mr. Kennicott and his work, and Mr. Horne, and some of the friends to both, fell into difficulty and danger, from a man whose name was Dumay; a person, who having been encouraged upon benevolent motives in the beginning, proved in the issue to be not much better than the Dumas, who had been attended in the Castle at Oxford; and of whom it is still uncertain, whether he did not come to the same untimely end. It was my fortune to be the first person in the University of Oxford that took notice of him, and the last that received any intelligence about him after he left this country; and it is doubtful to me whether any body is better acquainted with his character and history than myself. He was a French Jew, born upon the borders of Lorrain, and had received such an education as enabled him to understand Hebrew, and to write it with consummate excellence. He could turn his hand to drawing, and any other work of art: he had the ingratiating address of a Frenchman, with an appearance of sincerity; but with the unprincipled mind of a Jew; so that there was no depending upon him. Before he was twenty years of age, he appeared at Oxford as a petty Jew merchant, whose whole stock consisted of a few seals, pencils, and other trinkets. His civility drew my attention, and I took him to my chambers, to inquire what he had learned. I soon found his qualifications considerable, and, for his excellence in writing Hebrew, set him to work, with design to preserve his performances as curiosities; and I have several of them by me at this time. His ingenuity soon pro-

cured him more friends, of whom Mr. Horne was one of the most considerable; by means of which he gained a moderate livelihood; and some pains were taken with him occasionally, with the hope of bringing over a person of so much Jewish knowledge to some sense of Christianity. After he had led this sort of life for some time, he returned to visit his relations in France; having first prevailed on me to write him a testimonial of his late behaviour, to procure him a favourable reception; from which it seems probable, that he had left his friends in consequence of some misdemeanor. While he was abroad, he turned Christian, and received baptism from a priest of the Church of Rome, under the name of Ignatius. Then he went into the army of the King of France; promoted desertion among his comrades, quarrelled with his officer, and ran him through the body, but without killing him. Just at this juncture, the army in which he served came to an engagement with Prince Ferdinand, and he was taken prisoner. But the Prince having heard something of his history, and understanding it would be certain destruction to him if he were sent back to his own party, gave him a passport to England, with a recommendation to Mr. De Reiche, the Hanoverian Secretary at St. James's; a very worthy friendly gentleman, who had been a considerable benefactor to Dumay, till he found him at length a dead weight upon his hands, and grew tired of him. In the year 1761, after the famous transit of Venus, he presented himself to Mr. Horne at Magdalen College with terrible sore eyes; and being asked what was the matter, he answered, that he had suffered in his eyesight by looking at the sun: for having omitted to furnish himself as other people did for the occasion, he had made all his observations through a crack in

his fingers, and had nearly put his eyes out. I do not recollect at what time he entered into his employment under Mr. Kennicott, who certainly found him very well qualified for his purpose in point of ability and industry, but high spirited, turbulent, and discontented; so that, after he had been a year or two at the work of collating Hebrew manuscripts, he quarrelled with his employer, threw himself out of his work, and came with his complaints to me in the country, desiring to shew me some extracts he had made from the collations, that I might be a witness with him to the futility of the undertaking. The specimen he produced was not to the advantage of it; but it was not easy to judge, how far the fidelity of a person in an ill humour was to be depended upon. None but the collator himself could determine with precision. I advised him by all means to return to Mr. Kennicott, make his peace with him, and go on quietly with his business. Which he did; but after a perfidious manner; playing a false game between two parties; and carrying stories from the one to the other as it suited his purpose, till all his friends found a reason to be afraid of him, and Mr. Kennicott (now Dr. Kennicott) was under the necessity of dismissing him. So he left the occupation of a collator, formed a plan for forging Hebrew manuscripts, with all the appearances of antiquity, and putting them off for genuine, to shew how the world might be imposed upon. Somebody in compassion to his distress recommended him as an assistant to a charitable gentleman at a school in Bedfordshire, for which employment he was well qualified; but there also, after he had given much trouble, he miscarried. At length he got into some place of trust, which gave him an opportunity of making off with a sum of money: for, with all his ingenuity and industry, and without any

one expensive vice, yet, as if some dæmon had pursued him, so he ordered his affairs, that, having now a wife and child to maintain, he was very seldom far from beggary; whence one would hope he did some things rather from distress than malignity; though it must be owned, that upon the plea of his own wants, he could justify himself to his own conscience in any act of perfidy against the best of his benefactors; his conduct being exactly the same to his friends and his enemies, if his affairs required it. With what he had thus got he went over to Paris; where, by means of his own Hebrew papers, and some others which he had carried away with him, he had the address to introduce himself to a society of Hebrew scholars among the Capuchin Friars of St. Honoré; and amongst them all they fabricated a work, in the French language, which came over into England under the title of *Lettres de M. l'Abbé de * * * * Ex-professeur en Hébreu en l'Université de * * *, au Sr. Kennicott Anglois.* It has Rome in the title, as if it had been there printed, but it was sold at Paris; and its date is 1771. This pamphlet is severe, both in its reflections and its examples, on the work of collation, so celebrated in England, that people would hear nothing against it; and I was told, that the bookseller, who traded in foreign books, refused to take this into his shop: and yet some of its assertions are but to the same effect with those of Mr. Horne in his View; the substance of which the reader may see from the quotation in the margin *. This

* Il ne restera pas un seul mot dans la Bible Hebraïque dont on puisse garantir la sincérité. Sentez donc les suites de votre entreprise: il n'en résultera qu'un ouvrage mal conçu, peu conforme aux regles de la saine critique, totalement inutile, et plus propre à éblouir par un vain etalage de prétendues corrections, qu'à instruire par des raisonnemens solides. P. 12.

piece was afterwards translated into English by a worthy gentleman, who was struck by its facts and arguments; and a small anonymous pamphlet was published soon after its appearance, apologizing for the silence of Dr. Kennicott, and alledging that he had *no time to answer it.*

While I was at Paris, I inquired of Mr. Asseline, the Hebrew professor at the Sorbonne, whether he had ever seen such a person as I described Dumay to be? He answered, that he had seen him, but that he was gone off from Paris, and he supposed nobody knew what was become of him. When I inquired farther, who had been his friends, he confessed that the Capuchins of St. Honoré were suspected to have been the compilers and editors of his book. Now the reader has heard my story, let him consider, whether he can recollect a more extraordinary character, than that of this Jew, Christian, Papist, Protestant, Soldier, Scrivener, French, Englishman! If it so happened that he survived his *fourberies,* he may have proved to be a serviceable hand, and have acted some useful part upon the stage of the French Revolution *.

* This man is frequently spoken of in Dr. Horne's Letters; from one of which, of March, 1770, I take what follows: "The Sieur Dumay is a curious rogue indeed! The subject is so pregnant, that I could with pleasure put out my candles, to pass the evening in meditation upon him and his proceedings, since we had first the honour of knowing him, when he talked so much of Titus and the copper fly. If the best men are most imposed upon (as some say they are) we may, I think, without vanity, esteem ourselves to be a tolerably good sort of people." N.B. The Jews have a foolish legend, that when Titus had destroyed Jerusalem, God Almighty to be revenged on the enemy of his people, sent a copper fly for his punishment, which crept up his nose, and fed upon his brain, till it had killed him.

Neither Mr. Horne nor his friends could ever be persuaded, that, under the present state of the printed Hebrew Text, the labours of an Hebrew collator were at this time wanted by the Christian world; or that the experiment, from the face with which it made its appearance, would not be attended with some danger: and it might be owing (as I have said) to their pressing remonstrances, that the plan of a new Text, and a new English Translation, was laid aside. How far they were right in apprehending evil from it to the Christian cause, doth not appear from any consequences which have yet followed, and we hope it never will. The edition makes a very fine book, which will do honour to the memory of the editor, and, with its various readings, may be a very innocent one, if used with discretion. My learned and worthy friend the late Rev. Mr. Parkhurst (the last edition of whose Hebrew Lexicon was patronized by Dr. Horne after he was made a bishop) speaks of it with due respect: his words are these—"The principal *various readings* in Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible have been carefully noted, and are submitted to the reader's consideration and judgment. And it is hoped that the use which is here made of that elaborate work cannot fail of being acceptable to every serious and intelligent inquirer into the sense of the Hebrew Scriptures." See the advertisement to the third edition.

Of the friendly way in which Dr. Kennicott and Dr. Horne lived together, forgetting all their former disputes, yet without changing their opinions on either side, so far as I have been able to discover, I have already spoken: but the cause of learning and religion is still, and ever will be, so deeply concerned in the argument between them, that it well deserves to be

remembered and understood; and for this reason only I have spent so many words upon it. I may therefore hope to be pardoned, if I still go on to do as much justice as I can to Dr. Horne's side of the question, by adding one weighty reason, which he had (though he did not say much about it) for his suspicions in regard to the good effect of the collating system *. He thought it would be of disservice to turn the minds of the learned more toward the letter of the Bible, when they were already too much turned away from the spirit of it. The best fruits of divine wisdom may be gathered from the word of God, in any language, and in any edition. To what the Scripture itself calls the spirit of the Scripture, the learned of late days were become much more inattentive than in past ages. The Puritans of the last century set a proper value upon it, and some of them did well in displaying it: but when their formal manners, with their long prayers, and their long graces, were rejected, their interpretations of the Scripture, and with them all sounder interpretations of the kind, fell into disrepute; for men are such hasty reformers, that if they cast out evil, they cast out some good along with it. When tares are plucked up, the wheat is always in danger.

To this cause another may be added. The persons, who since that time have risen into chief repute for parts and learning, had nothing of this in their compositions; such as Clarke, Hoadley, Hare, Middleton, Warburton, Sherlock, South, William Law, Edmund Law, and many others, who have flourished

* In Bishop Hurd's late Life of Dr. Warburton, Dr. Lowth is reflected upon for his expectations from the labours of Dr. Kennicott.

since the Restoration; they either did not know it, or did not relish it, and fell totally into other ways of studying and reasoning: after which it was naturally to be expected in their disciples, that the spirit of the Scripture should be less regarded. This actually did happen, and to such a degree, that many did not even know what was meant by it. Somebody was wanting to revive the knowledge that was lost: but, alas! when this was attempted, the door was shut. This sort of learning, the best and the greatest of which the mind of man is capable in this life, had been so long asleep, that it seemed likely never more to awake. Accordingly, when Mr. Horne sat down to write his Commentary on the Psalms, which proceeds throughout upon the true principle, he was under great anxiety of mind about the reception of it by the world; and expressed his fears in the Preface to the work, telling his readers "he is not insensible that many learned and good men, whom he does not therefore value and respect the less, have conceived strong prejudices against the scheme of interpretation here pursued; and he knows how little the generality of modern Christians are accustomed to speculations of this kind.—In the first age of the Church, when the apostolical method of citing and expounding was fresh upon the minds of their followers, the author cannot but be confident, that his Commentary, if it had then made its appearance, would have been universally received and approved as to the general design of it, by the whole Christian world," &c. &c. How unfortunate it is that such strong prejudices should be conceived against that mode of interpretation, in which Christians differ from Jews! But so it is; and so long as it is the custom for learned men to employ their time and talents, as the Masorites did,

and more reputation is to be obtained by picking and sifting of letters, than by the apostolical method of opening the sense and spirit of them, the evil will be rather increasing than diminishing. When fashion invites, vanity will always follow; critic will succeed to critic, and he that is the boldest will think himself the greatest, till all due veneration for the Bible is lost, and the Text is cut and slashed, as if it were no longer a living body, but the subject of a Lecture in Surgeons' Hall. While the rage of editing prevails, and the state of the copy is the grand object, we have then too much reason to apprehend, that the spirit of life, which is still to be found, even in the worst copies and poorest editions, will be less regarded and understood. We should have but a mean opinion of the gardener, who should always be clearing and raking his borders, but never raising any thing from them to support the life of man. Thus, if collating ends in collation, the tendency of it may be bad, though it be ever so well executed: and I believe this was, at the bottom, the chief objection against it in the mind of Mr. Horne. He was shy of speaking too plain, through a fear of giving offence; but the time has now many greater dangers than that of offending some few modern critics and editors.

I relate it as a singular occurrence, that when the mind of Mr. Horne was first filled with the design of commenting upon the Psalms, he should meet with a traveller in a stage-coach, who was in principle the very reverse of himself. The man gave his judgment with all freedom on all subjects of divinity, and among the rest on the use of the Psalms in the service of the Church. The Psalms of David, he said, were nothing to us, and he thought other compositions might be substituted, which were much more to the purpose

than David's Psalms. He happened to be speaking to a person, who could see deeper than most men into the ignorance and folly of his discourse, but was wise enough to hear him with patience, and leave him to proceed in his own way. Yet this poor man was but the pattern of too many more, who want to be taught again, that David was a Prophet, and speaks of the Messiah where he seems to be speaking of himself; as the Apostle St. Peter taught the Jews, in the second chapter of the Acts, and thereby converted three thousand of them at once to the belief of Christ's resurrection.

There is another modern way of criticising upon the Scripture, to which Mr. Horne had no great affection, as thinking it could never be of much service: I mean that custom, which has prevailed since the days of Grotius, of justifying and illustrating the things revealed to us in the Scripture from *heathen* authorities. I had seen too much of this among some of my acquaintance, persons of no mean learning, but who, instead of employing themselves in the more successful labour of comparing spiritual things with spiritual, in order to understand them, were diligent in collecting parallel passages from Heathen authors, to compare them with the Scripture; as if the sun wanted the assistance of a candle; or the word of God was not worthy to be received, but so far only as we are able to reconcile it with the wisdom of Greek and Roman authors. He was rather of opinion, with a certain writer, that the Bible will explain all the books in the world, but wants not them to explain it. St. Paul did not think it improper, on certain occasions, to refer to Heathen authorities *, and make his use of them for the confir-

* See Acts xvii. ver. 23. 28.

mation of his own doctrine; but this was done when he was arguing with Heathens, not with Christians. There is not the same propriety, when his sublime chapter on the Resurrection is compared (as I have seen it) with Plato's doctrine of generation and corruption. Take the heathen doctrine of the origination of mankind, and compare it with the sacred history in Paradise, and it will soon appear how little the one wants the help of the other:

> Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris
> Brutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
> Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
> Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus:
> Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
> Nominaque invenere——— HOR.

It was a doctrine of the heathen poets, that men, when first made, were *without speech*, creeping on all four like beasts, living upon acorns, and lodging like swine in a forest: whereas, when we consult the Bible, we find the first man conversing with his Maker, placed under a state of instruction and probation, and in a condition but little lower than an angel. What must the consequence be, when an attempt is made to reconcile these two accounts, and melt them down together? Yet was this actually done by the learned Dr. Shuckford, as it may be seen in the last-written preface to his Connexion; where the history of Adam, and of Eve, and of Paradise, and the intercourse of Man with his Creator, is commented upon and illustrated from Ovid and Tully, and Mr. Pope's poetical system of Deism, called *an Essay on Man;* till the whole is involved in obscurity, and becomes even childish and insignificant; as if it had been the design of the critic to expose the sacred history to the con-

tempt of blasphemers and infidels. This abuse of learning Mr. Horne could not see without a mixture of grief and indignation: he is therefore supposed to be the person, who, in a little anonymous pamphlet, made his remarks on this unworthy manner of handling the Scripture. While he was young, his zeal was ardent, and his strictures were unreserved. Yet I can never persuade myself, that it was the intention of Dr. Shuckford to put a slight upon the Bible; though he certainly has made the Mosaic account as ridiculous in simplicity, as Dr. Middleton did in malice. I rather think he was betrayed into the mistake by a prevailing custom of the age. When the learned are less studious of the Scripture, and become vain of other learning, it may easily be foreseen how the Scripture must suffer under their expositions; and, if they do not foresee it, we would refer them for evidence to the Supplemental Discourse on the Creation and Fall of Man, by Dr. Shuckford. The reformer, who dares to censure a corrupt practice, can never be well received by the parties who are in fault. This was the lot of Mr. Horne and his friends. The candle, which they had lighted at the Scripture, and held up to show some dangers and absurdities in modern learning, was blown out, and they themselves were accused as persons of great zeal and little understanding. How often do we see, that when men *should* be reformed, and are *not*, they are only provoked past remedy! This being, upon the whole, but an unpleasant subject, I shall proceed to one that will entertain us better.

A letter of July the 25th, 1755, informed me that Mr. Horne, according to an established custom at Magdalen College in Oxford, had begun to preach before the University, on the day of St. John the

Baptist. For the preaching of this annual sermon a permanent pulpit of stone is inserted into a corner of the first Quadrangle; and so long as the stone pulpit was in use (of which I have been a witness) the Quadrangle was furnished round the sides with a large fence of green boughs, that the preaching might more nearly resemble that of John the Baptist in the wilderness; and a pleasant sight it was: but for many years the custom hath been discontinued, and the assembly have thought it safer to take shelter under the roof of the chapel. Our forefathers, it seems, were not so much afraid of being injured by the falling of a little rain, or the blowing of the wind, or the shining of the sun upon their heads. The preacher of 1755 pleased the audience very much by his manner and style, and all agreed that he had a *very fine imagination:* but he was not very well pleased with the compliment. As a *Christian teacher,* he was much more desirous that his hearers should receive and understand, and enter into the spirit of the doctrines he had delivered; but in this he found them slower than he wished, and laments it heavily in a private letter. Two sermons on the subject of St. John the Baptist were printed, and many others succeeded which were not printed: for the author, at last, on a review of what he had done, thought it more advisable to throw the matter out of that form, and cast an abridgment of the whole into the form of *Considerations:* on which performance I have already spoken my mind, and, I believe, the mind of every competent judge, in the beginning of this work. (See Pref. Epist. p. vi.) I can only say here, that if there be any Christian reader, who wishes to know what a saint is and aspires to be one himself, let him keep before his eyes that beautiful and finished picture of St. John the Baptist, to the

executing of which but one person of the age was equal. But behold how this was described by the *Critical Reviewers* of the time! "In the Considerations," they say, "there are some judicious and solid remarks relative to practice, but *nothing to engage the attention of a curious, inquisitive or critical reader.*" They might have said the same of the Sermon on the Mount. It looks as if they would have been better pleased with a dissertation upon the manner in which the wild honey was made and collected for John to eat*, properly interspersed with

* Many examples might be given, to illustrate the distinction between *Christian* Divinity, by which men are edified, and *curious* Divinity, by which they are only amused and entertained. We read in the Gospel, Luke xix. 4. that Zaccheus climbed up into a sycamore tree, to see Jesus pass by, and was led by that circumstance to repentance and salvation. When this case is considered by the *Christian Divine*, he dwells upon the circumstance of Zaccheus's desiring to see the Saviour of the world, and the inestimable blessing of being called by him, as Zaccheus was, to a state of salvation. But when the *curious Divine* hears that Zaccheus climbs up into a tree, he climbs up after him; not to see what he saw, but to examine the nature of the tree, and ascertain to what species of plants, botanically considered, it properly belongs.

In this example we have two very different modes of treating the Scripture. No man that loves learning will condemn the critical disquisitor: let him pursue his inquiries; there is no harm in them: but when he presumes, as from an upper region, to disdain the Christian Divine, as unworthy of all commendation, he pays too great a compliment to his own importance, and raises a very just suspicion against his own religious principles. The case of Zaccheus is considered in the *Christian* way by Bishop Hall (see Mr. Glasse's edition, vol. iii. p. 219) and matter enough for the *critical way* may be found in the Voyages of Frederick Hasselquist, p. 129, et alib. The same *inquisitive* person was, as he tells us, very solicitous to discover what *kind of tree in particular* David had his eye upon in the *first Psalm:* which never can be discovered, if his expressions, as they seem, have an allusion to the *Tree of Life.* See our author's Commentary on the first Psalm; who inclines to this opinion.

quotations from Athenæus and other authors, to show the learning of the writer, and that, perhaps, but impertinently introduced. When there is a party always ready, and always upon the watch, to hinder the success of every good attempt, and mislead the ignorant on subjects of the first importance, such a writer as the author of those Considerations had little chance of escaping. Their artifices had been so well observed and understood by him, that he was able to predict their proceedings. When I had printed a discourse on the Mosaic Distinction of Animals in the Book of Leviticus, which had cost me much research and meditation, under the title of Zoologia Ethica, in which I had traced the *moral intention* of that curious institution, he foretold me how it would be represented to the public; that the critics would select some part of the work, which was either ambiguous in itself, or might be made so by their manner of exhibiting it, and give that as a specimen of the plan, to discourage the examination of it. "The passage (said he), at page 19, &c. about the camel and the swine will probably be selected by the Reviewers, given to the reader without a syllable of the evidence, and then the whole book dismissed with a sneer." In a few months after, his prediction was so exactly verified, that one would have suspected him to have been in the secret. "If you look into the Critical Review, you will be tempted to think I wrote the article on the Zoologia, to verify my own prediction. Without giving the least account of your plan, and the argument by which it is so irrefragably supported and demonstrated, the ———— give the very passage about the swine and the camel, and conclude the whole scheme to be visionary, and *problematical*, as they phrase

it *." Thus is a malignant party gratified, and the public is beguiled by false accounts: the deception may continue for a time; but truth and justice generally take place at last.

There is a portion of the New Testament, very interesting and full of matter, on which the author of the Considerations, soon after he was in holy orders, bestowed much thought and labour; I mean the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. On this he composed at least twenty sermons; which are all excellent: but being more agreeable to the spirit of the first ages than of the present, he was not forward, though frequently solicited, to give them to the world. He objected, that they wanted to be reviewed with a more critical eye, and even to be recomposed; and that this would be a work of time. Toward the latter end of his life, however, he set about it, but got no farther than through the third discourse. The first is on the Character of Abel, the second on Enoch, the third on Noah. Of these I have the copy, and hope it will be published. Whoever looks at them, will wish he had lived to satisfy his mind about all the rest. They would certainly have been improved by such a revision; yet, perhaps, not so much as he supposed. First thoughts, upon a favourite subject, are warm and lively; and the language they bring with them is strong and natural; but prudence is apt to be cold and timorous; and, while it adds a polish, takes away something from the spirit of a composition.

* The date of the letter from which this extract is taken is Feb. 18, 1772. The work, thus unfairly treated, I sent to the learned Bishop Newton, a writer of profound skill in the language of the Scripture; who allowed that I had proved the *moral intention* of that law which is the subject of it.

But the greatest work of his life, of which he now began to form a design, was a *Commentary on the whole Book of Psalms.* In the year 1758, he told me how he had been meditating on the Book of Psalms, and had finished those for the first day of the month, upon the following plan*: 1. An analysis of the Psalm, by way of argument. 2. A paraphrase on each verse. 3. The substance digested into a prayer. "The work (said he) delights me greatly, and seems, so far as I can judge of my own turn and talents, to suit me the best of any I can think of. May he, who hath the *keys of David,* prosper it in my hand; granting me the knowledge and utterance necessary to make it serviceable to the Church!" Let any person of judgment peruse the work, and he will see how well the author has succeeded, and kept up the spirit of it to the end. His application of the book of Psalms is agreeable to the testimony so repeatedly given to it, and the use made of it, in the New Testament. This question is stated and settled beyond a doubt, in a learned preface to the work. The style is that of an accomplished writer; and its ornaments distinguish the vigour of his imagination. That all readers should admire it as I do, is not to be expected; yet it has certainly met with great admiration; and I have seen letters to him, from persons of the first judgment, on the publication of the book. It will never be neglected, if the Church and its religion should continue; for which he prayed fervently every day of his life. When it first came from the press, Mr. Daniel Prince, his bookseller at Oxford, was walking to or from Magdalen College with a

* This plan he afterwards thought proper to alter, and, as it is judged, for the better.

copy of it under his arm. "What have you there, Mr. Prince?" said a gentleman who met him. "This, Sir, is a copy of Dr. Horne's Psalms, just now finished. The president, Sir, began to write *very young*: but this is the work in which he will always live." In this Mr. Prince judged very rightly: he will certainly live in this work: but there are many others of his works, in which he will not die, till all learning and piety shall die with him.

His Commentary on the Psalms was under his hand about twenty years. The labour, to which he submitted in the course of the work, was prodigious: his reading for many years was allotted chiefly to this subject; and his study and meditation together produced as fine a work, and as finely written, as most in the English language. There are good and learned men, who cannot but speak well of the work, and yet are forward to let us know, that they do not follow Dr. Horne as an interpreter. I believe them: but this is one of the things we have to lament: and, while they may think this an honour to their judgment, I am afraid it is a symptom that we are retrograde in theological learning. The author was sensible, that, after the pleasure he had received in studying for the work, and the labour of composing and correcting, he was to offer what the age was ill prepared to receive. This put him upon his guard; and the work is in some respects the better for it, in others not so good; it is more cautiously and correctly written, but perhaps not so richly furnished with matter as it might have been. Had he been composing a novel, he would have been under none of these fears: his imagination might then have taken its course, without a bridle, and the world would have followed as fast as he could wish.

The first edition in quarto was published in the year 1776, when the author was vice-chancellor; and it happened, soon after its publication, that I was at Paris. There was then a Christian University in the place! and I had an opportunity of recommending it to some learned gentlemen who were members of it, and understood the English language well. I took the liberty to tell them, our church had lately been enriched by a Commentary on the Psalms; the best in our opinion, that had ever appeared; and such as St. Austin would have perused with delight if he had lived to see it. At my return the author was so obliging as to furnish me with a copy to send over to them as a present; and I was highly gratified by the approbation with which it was received. With those who could read English, it was so much in request, that I was told the book was never out of hand; and I apprehend more copies were sent for. Every intelligent Christian, who once knows the value of it, will keep it to the end of his life, as the companion of his retirement: and I can scarcely wish a greater blessing to the age, than that it may daily be better known and more approved.

About the time when it was published, that systematical infidel, David Hume, died. It had been the aim of his life, to invent a sort of Philosophy, that should effect the overthrow of Christianity. For this he lived; and his ambition was to die, or be thought to die, hard and impenitent, yea, and even cheerful and happy; to shew the world the power of his own principles: which however were weakly founded, and so inconsistent with common sense, that Dr. Beattie attacked and demolished them in the life-time of the author. Special pains were taken by Hume himself, and by his friends after him, to persuade the world, that his life, at the

last stage of it, was perfectly tranquil and composed; and the part is so laboured and over-acted, that there is just cause of suspicion, even before the detection appears. Dr. Horne, whose mind was ever in action for some good end, could not sit still, and see the public so imposed upon. He addressed an anonymous *Letter to Dr. Adam Smith* from the Clarendon Press; of which the argument is so clear, and the humour so easy and natural, that no honest man can keep his countenance while he reads it, and none but an infidel can be angry. While Dr. Adam Smith affects to be very serious and solemn in the cause of his friend Hume, the author of the Letter plays them both off with wonderful effect. He alludes to certain anecdotes concerning Mr. Hume, which are very inconsistent with the account given in his Life: for at the very period, when he is reported not to have *suffered a moment's abatement of his spirits,* none of his friends dared to mention the name of a certain *author* in his presence, lest it should *throw him into a transport of passion and swearing:* a certain indication that his mind had been greatly hurt; and nobody will think it was without reason, if he will read the Essay on Truth by Dr. Beattie; which is not only a confutation of Hume's Philosophy; it is much more; it is an extirpation of his principles, and delivers them to be scattered like stubble by the winds.

The letter to Dr. Adam Smith, like the Essay of Dr. Beattie, has a great deal of truth, recommended by a great deal of wit: and if the reader has not seen it, he has some pleasure in store. We allow to the memory of Dr. Adam Smith, that he was a person of quick understanding and diligent research, in things relating merely to this world; of which his Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations will be a

lasting monument; and it is a work of great use to those who would obtain a comprehensive view of business and commerce: but when he set up Mr. Hume as a pattern of perfection, and judged of all religion by the principles of that philosopher, he was very much out of his line.

The Letter was followed in course of time by *Letters on Infidelity:* which are very instructive and entertaining, and highly proper for the preventing or lessening that respect which young people may conceive unawares for unbelieving philosophers. It has been objected by some readers of a more severe temper, that these Letters are occasionally too light *: and I must confess, I should have been as well pleased, if the story of Dr. Radcliffe and his man had been omitted: but there is this to be said, that these are not sermons, but familiar letters; that Dr. Horne considered the profession of infidelity, as a thing more ridiculous and insignificant in itself, than some of his learned readers might do; that, as it appeared in some persons, it was really too absurd to be treated with seriousness; and, as Voltaire had treated religion with ridicule instead of argument, and had done infinite mischief by it, justice required that he and his friends should be treated a little in their own way †.

* In his preface to these Letters, the author has endeavoured to obviate this objection; and we think he has done it very sufficiently.

† One of the severest reflections, that ever came from the pen of Dr. Horne, was aimed, as I suppose, at this Mr. David Hume: yet it is all very fair. This philosopher had observed, that all the *devout* persons he had ever met with were *melancholy:* which is thus answered: "This might very probably be; for, in the first place, it is most likely, that he saw very few, his friends and acquaintance being of another sort; and, secondly, the sight of *him* would make a devout person melancholy at any time." Serm. vol. iii. p. 96. These Letters are a demonstration that all devout persons are not melancholy.

Besides, as infidels have nothing to support them but their vanity, let them once appear as ridiculous as they are impious, and they cannot live. They can never approve themselves, but so far only as they are upheld and approved by other people. To treat them with seriousness (as W— has treated G——) is to make them important; which is all they want. The opinions of Mr. Hume, as they are displayed in these Letters, are many of them ridiculous from their palpable absurdity: but, it must be owned, they are sometimes horrible and shocking; such as, that man is not an accountable but a necessary agent; consequently, that there is no such thing as sin, or that God is the author of it: that the life of a man and the life of an oyster are of *equal* value *: that it may be as criminal to act for the preservation of life, as for its destruction; that as life is so insignificant and vague, there

* It is a fundamental doctrine in the Creed of *Materialism*, that nature consists of *matter* and a *living substance* of which all living creatures *equally* partake; and which, when it dies in a carcase is continued in the reptiles that feed upon it. The origin of individual life, in every form, is from the general animation of the world; on which the philosophers of antiquity speculated; and some inconsiderate Christians have taken it up on their authority. You have it in Virgil:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
SPIRITUS intus alit: totamque infusa per artus
MENS agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
INDE hominum pecudumque genus, VITÆQUE volantum.

And in Mr. Pope's Essay on Man,

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is and God the soul, &c.

Eph. i. 267, &c.

What follows is in exact conformity with the principle of Virgil, and of our philosophical Deists.

can be no harm in disposing of it as we please: that there can be no more crime in turning a few ounces of blood out of their course (that is, in cutting one's throat) than in turning the waters of a river out of their channel. What is murder? It is nothing more than turning a little blood out of its way. And so the Irishman said, by the same figure of rhetoric, that perjury was nothing more than kissing a book, or, as he worded it, smacking the calveskin. This is the sage Mr. Hume! whom Dr. Adam Smith delivers to the world, after his death, as a perfect character; while a man of plain sense, who takes things as they are, would think it impossible that any person, who is not out of his mind, should argue at this rate. Mr. Hume seems to me to have borrowed from the school of the old Pyrrhonists much of that system which he is supposed to have invented. They made all things indifferent, and doubted of every thing, that there might be nothing true or real left to disturb them. The chief good they aimed at in every thing, was what they called ατραξια, a state of undisturbance or tranquillity, in which the mind cares for nothing: and it was the ambition of Mr. Hume to be thought to have lived and died in this state; but by all accounts his ατραξια was not quite perfect*. His object was undoubtedly the same with that of the Pyrrhonists, and he pursues

* Pliny the Natural Historian has rightly observed, that Philosophers, through the affectation of apathy, divested themselves of all human affections; that this was the case with Diogenes the Cynic, Pyrrho, Heraclitus, and Timon of Athens; the last of whom actually sunk into a professed hatred of all mankind. "Exit hic animi tenor aliquando in rigorem quemdam, torvitatemque naturæ duram et inflexibilem; adfectusque humanos adimit, quales *apathes* Græci vocant, multos ejus generis experti." Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 19.

it by a like way of reasoning. The speculations of these men were so copious, that there is matter enough left for another Mr. Hume to set himself up with, and pass for an original. Of all the sects of antiquity this was the most unreasonable; though pretending to more wisdom than all the rest. That, which was but folly under Heathenism, turns into desperation and madness under the light and truth of Christianity. Where all was blind tradition, or wild conjecture, there might be some excuse for fixing to nothing; but to affect *undisturbance*, after what is now revealed, concerning death and judgment, and heaven and hell, is to try how far a man can argue himself out of his senses. What angels may think of such a person, I do not inquire: but how must evil spirits look upon that man, who sleeps or laughs over the things at which they tremble; and then calls himself a *Philosopher!*

Of the Letters on Infidelity, the first half is employed on Mr. David Hume; the latter half on a more modern adventurer; who, to be revenged on the Bishops of this Church, put together a miscellany of objections against the Scripture and the Christian religion. The Right Reverend Bench had procured an act of Parliament against the Sunday-Clubs, which met together on the evening of the Sabbath-day, to indulge themselves, and corrupt an audience, with blasphemous disquisitions and disputations. For thus cruelly disturbing the amusements of infidelity, the Bishops are represented as the vilest of persecutors: whips, tortures, racks, and all the implements of the Holy Office, are introduced to confirm the accusation; from all which a stranger to the case might suppose it a common thing with the Prelates of this country, to break the bones of Infidels, or roast them alive: and

all this is for nothing else, but that they had seasonably and wisely provided, that the Christian religion, in a Christian country, should not be trampled under foot, upon the Sabbath-day.

The objections this man hath brought together are very well taken off: but if Christians are bound to answer, so long as infidels will object, who never wish to be satisfied, and are probably incapable of being so, their lot would be rather hard, and much of their time unprofitably spent. The Gentlemen of the Long Robe attend the court, not to answer the scruples which felons may entertain about the principles of justice, but to administer the law; otherwise their work would never be done: and it is the business of the clergy to preach the Gospel to the people: it was the part of God, who gave the word, to prove it to the world by prophecies and miracles. The prophecies are as strong as ever; some of them more so than formerly: and miracles are not to be repeated for proof, after the world hath once been persuaded. All is then left to testimony and education. Before Moses gave the law, he showed signs and wonders: but, when the law was once received, parents were to tell their children, and confirm the truth by the memorials that were left of it. It therefore lies upon our adversaries to show, how it came to pass, on any of *their* principles, that men like themselves, as much disposed to make objections, should receive the Scripture as the word of God in the several nations of the world, and receive it at the peril of their lives: a fact which they cannot deny. Let them also try to account for it, on their own principles, how the Jews have been strolling about the world for seventeen hundred years, as witnesses to the Scripture, and to the sentence therein passed upon themselves. Till they can do these

things, it is nothing but an evasion to cavil about words and passages; a certain mark of prejudice and perverseness. They know they cannot deny the whole, but, as they must appear to be doing something, they flatter their own pride by keeping up a skirmish, and perplex weak people, by raising difficulties about the parts. This was the expedient on which Mr. Voltaire bestowed so much labour. It does not appear to me that he really thought the facts of Christianity to be false; but that his vanity and perverseness tempted him to ridicule the Bible, without denying in his mind that God was the author of it: in fact, that he was a *Theomachist*, who hated the truth, knowing it to be such, and braved the authority of Heaven itself: or, in the words of Herbert, that he was a man,

> Who makes flat war with God, and doth defy
> With his poor clod of earth the spacious sky.

If a religion, to which the nature of man is so hostile, did actually make its way without force, and against the utmost cruelty and discouragement from the world; *that* fact was a miracle, including within itself a thousand other miracles.

See, on the other hand, how Paganism, Mahometism, and modern Atheism, were and are supported and propagated: the Pagan Idols by ten bloody persecutions, with every act of outrageous mockery and insult, for want of reasons and miracles: the religion of Mahomet (a sort of Christian Heresy) by rewards of sensuality and the power of the sword; that is, by force and temptation: the Atheism of France by farcical representation and ridicule of truth, assisted in the rear by imprisonments, murders, and confiscations. These be thy gods, O Infidelity, by the power of which thy kingdom is established in the world! These efforts of

violence show the weakness of false reason, and the strength of that which is true; and demonstrate, that men were prevailed upon by true evidence, and rational persuasion, to receive the Christian faith. Here lie the merits of the cause in a small compass: and let all the infidels upon earth lay their hands together, and give a direct answer. Swift assures us, from his own observations, and I believe very truly, that a man was "always vicious before he became an unbeliever;" and that "reasoning will never make a man correct an opinion, which by reasoning he never acquired." Some service, however, is done to the cause of piety, and defensive weapons are put into the hands of those whose minds are as yet uncorrupted, when the malice or ignorance of an infidel is exposed by an examination of his objections: the corruption of *his* mind is thereby displayed in such a manner, that even a child may see it: and therefore we are much obliged to Dr. Horne, for answering the doubts of infidels, and for reasoning his answer with such wit and spirit, that the work, in some parts of it, has the force of a comedy: it should therefore be put into the hands of young people, that they may see how foolish some men are, when they pretend to be over-wise. The Letter to Dr. Priestley from an Under-graduate, that to Dr. Adam Smith on the Character of David Hume, and the Letters on Infidelity, are three choice pieces upon the same argument, which should always go together. But suppose infidelity is answered, the business is not all done: we have still the *believing unbeliever* to contend with, of whom there is but little hope. The Christian evidence can certainly have no effect on those that deny it: but that it should have so little effect on some that believe it, and even argue and dispute well for it, this is the greatest wonder of all: but so the matter

stands. There is a sort of people amongst us, who believe Christianity as a *fact*, while they deny it as a *truth*: and such persons may do more harm, and be themselves as far from the kingdom of heaven, as the open unbeliever: the Gospel assures us that he and the hypocrite will have their portion together. Priestley asserts the *facts* of Christianity against the Philosophers of France, while he believes no more of its *truth* than the Sadducees of Jerusalem did, who yet never denied that God had spoken unto Moses. That men professing Christianity should be under temptations to vice, we can easily understand: but that their minds should believe and deny, at the same time, concerning the same thing, *there* is the difficulty. May it be said, that the mind has antecedently admitted a principle, which militates against the *truth* while it does not militate against the *fact*? God knows how the matter is: but I see too much of it in the world.

Though the imagination of Dr. Horne was sometimes at play when the *Speculum* of Infidelity was in his hand, his heart was always serious: thence it came to pass, that the composition of sermons was a work never out of his mind; and it was the desire and the pleasure of his life to make himself useful in the pulpit wherever he went. The plan which he commonly proposed to himself in preaching upon a passage of the Scripture was that of giving, 1. The literal sense of it: then, 2. The interpretation or spirit of it: and 3. The practical or moral use of it, in an application to the audience: and he was of opinion, that one discourse, composed upon this plan, was worth twenty immethodical essays; as being more instructive in the matter, more intelligible in the delivery, and more easily retained in the memory. Yet after long practice, he came to a determination, that no method was

more excellent than that of taking some narrative of the Scripture, and raising moral observations on the several circumstances of it in their order. His Sermon on Lot in Sodom, vol. II. disc. i. and on Daniel in Babylon, vol. II. disc. viii. are of this kind. The Noble Convert, or History of Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch, vol. II. disc. iii. is another. The Paralytic, and the Woman taken in Adultery, belong to the same class. One of the most skilful and excellent preachers this Church could ever boast, was the late Dr. Heylyn, a Prebendary of Westminster. His discourse on the Canaanite was considered by Dr. Horne as a most perfect and elegant model of a sermon, on a miracle, or any other portion of the Scripture; he pronounced it to be succinct, clear, and forcible, with nothing in it superfluous or tiresome: and it came into his mind, on reading it, that another after the same model might be composed on the Samaritan Woman and the discourse our Saviour held with her. This he lived to execute. It is still among his unpublished discourses, and is itself worthy to be printed, as a specimen of *this manner*.

There are certainly different modes of preaching, all of which are good in their way: some are most proper for one subject, some for another. One of these is that of Jesus Christ himself; who, from present occasions, and circumstances of time and place, made use of the opportunity to raise such doctrines as were wanting for the instruction of his hearers: the mind being under the best preparation for the conceiving of truth, when that truth is raised from the objects of its present attention. We see our Saviour at a well of water (a precious object in hot countries) discoursing on the waters of life, to a person who came, in the heat of the day, to draw the water of the well.

After this example did Dr. Horne, when he was by the sea-side at Brighthelmstone, take *the Sea* for the subject of a sermon; one of the most ingenious he ever composed; and, without question, peculiarly striking to the audience, who had the object before their eyes*. This naturally reminds me of a reflection he made, when, with other young people of the University, he attended a course of Chemical Lectures at Oxford. It was the custom of Dr. Alcock to carry his pupils over such ground, as rendered the science of great service to every person of a learned profession. The last lecture was upon *poisons:* and the subject required, that snakes should be produced upon the table, and made to bite poor harmless animals to death; whose cries, and howlings, and convulsions, after the wounds were given, were extremely affecting, and made some of the spectators ready to faint. On which he observed afterwards—"*that* would have been the moment, to have delivered a theological lecture on the *Old Serpent* of the Scripture—that hath the *power of death*—and first brought it, with all its fatal symptoms and miseries into the world!" And he judged right; it would have been better understood, and more felt at that time, than at any other; for it is not to be calculated, how much the mind is assisted in its contemplations by the senses of the body, giving life to its ideas, and working irresistibly upon the passions.

His opinion concerning the duties of a preacher is to be found in the Preface to the first volume of his Sermons, expressed in the words of Fenelon. He considered also, but never printed, the faults and abuses which every preacher should study to avoid;

* See vol. III. disc. iv.

and, as it may be of much service to some readers, I shall take the liberty of mentioning them in this place:

> Let those teach others who themselves excel,
> And censure freely who have written well.

"A preacher should avoid rambling upon general or trivial subjects; such as are not to the purpose; nor adapted to the wants and occasions of the audience, which are always to be considered.

"He should beware of polemical and wrangling compositions.

"He should not mix things sacred and profane together, from an ostentation of learning. Such learning is quite out of place. Also a discourse, consisting of critical remarks, is fitter for an editor than a preacher. See Heylyn, I. 155. with the Preface to Massillon's Petit Carême; and the note in Oswald's Common Sense, vol. I. for some very useful observations on this part of the subject.

"To be always dwelling on the expedience, necessity, and evidence of revelation, is to suppose that the audience consists of Deists: for such discourses have no effect on any but Deists, and rarely upon them.

"There may be a fault also, in dwelling too much on the elementary and catechetical doctrines, and not (as the Apostle expresses it) *going on unto perfection.*

"It is always bad to treat religious subjects in a dull, dry way; neglecting the imagery, energy, and persuasive elocution of the Scriptures.

"Nor is it better to discourse on morality in a rigid, legal, and comfortless manner, without first warming

and animating the mind to the practice of it by motives of faith and love. St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xv. discourses, for fifty-seven verses together, on the animating doctrine of the Resurrection of Christ, and in one single verse, the last in the chapter, conveys the moral of the whole.

"Much time and labour are frequently lost in proving what all the hearers allow: as for example, the obligation they are under to do their duty, instead of showing and exposing the various modes of self-deceit, by which they contrive to elude the obligation, and live in contradiction to their principles. Pleas and pretences of this sort should be collected, stated, and answered in a close lively manner, till the hypocrite is completely unmasked, driven out of his strong holds, and obliged to surrender at discretion. Masillon is admirable at this, and it makes the general plan of his sermons.

"The word of God is abused by preachers, when it is accommodated and made subservient to the corruptions of the time. It is then an instrument for the gratifying of their vanity, or procuring wealth and promotion. Such a traffic with the word is like Judas, when he sold Christ for money.

"All affected elegance, and trifling conceits, are to be avoided, as having a bad effect upon the audience, who are tempted to forget the errand they came upon, and to suppose that the preacher, appearing to have no sense of the greatness of his subject, is not in earnest.

"Too great familiarity of expression, with coarse images, taken from low subjects, are fulsome. Dr. South has some excellent observations in vol. IV. p. 40, on the words, *Every scribe instructed into the kingdom of God*, &c.

"In what is called an application, at the end of a sermon, the preacher makes a transition by the shortest way, from the subject to the audience, and shows them their duty from what has been said. A writer, strong in his expressions, affirms, that a sermon *without an application* does no more good than *the singing of a sky-lark:* it may teach, but it does not impel; and though the preacher may be under concern for his audience, he does not show it, till he turns the subject to their immediate advantage."

These observations, upon the composition of sermons, are so much the more valuable, because we have them from a most excellent preacher, who had formed himself upon the rules he has given for others. He is a good farmer, who raises a good crop; but he is a better who teaches others also to do the same; and the public are more obliged to him. If these precepts were properly attended to, the people would soon know how to distinguish between a sound teacher and an unlearned enthusiast; the Methodists would decrease, and the Church would be edified. If something had been added against errors in the pronunciation of sermons, I should have been glad to communicate it: but, as I find nothing to this purpose, I shall venture but a single remark upon the subject. Every preacher wishes to be *understood* as well as heard; but many are deficient in this respect, for want of a distinct articulation; which might easily be acquired, if they would attend to a simple rule, without the observation of which no man's delivery can be perfect. It is well known, that a piece of writing may be understood, if all the vowels are omitted; but, if the vowels are set down, and the consonants omitted, nothing can be made of it. Make the experiment upon any sentence: for example, *judge not, that ye be*

not judged. Take out the vowels, and it will stand thus—*jdg nt tht y b nt jdgd:* This may readily be made out: but take away the consonants, and nothing can possibly be made of it—*ue o a e e o ue.* It is the same in speaking as in writing: the vowels make a noise, and thence they have their name, but they discriminate nothing. Many speakers think they are heard, if they bellow them out: and so they are; but they are not understood; because the discrimination of words depends upon a distinct articulation of their consonants: for want of considering which, many speakers spend their breath to little effect. The late Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Hinchcliffe, was one of the most pleasing preachers of his time. His melodious voice was the gift of nature, and he spake with the accent of a man of sense, (such as he really was in a superior degree); but it was remarkable, and, to those who did not know the cause, mysterious, that there was not a corner of the Church, in which he could not be heard distinctly. I noted this myself with great satisfaction; and, by watching him attentively, I perceived it was an invariable rule with him, to do justice to every consonant, knowing that the vowels will be sure to speak for themselves. And thus he became the surest and clearest of speakers; his elocution was perfect and never disappointed his audience. In this respect, most preachers have it in their power to follow him: his sense, and his matter, and the sweetness of his tone, were such as few will attain to. He was a prelate, to whom I owed much respect; and I am happy in giving this testimony to his excellence.

The last literary work which Dr. Horne proposed to execute, while Dean of Canterbury, was a formal Defence of the Divinity of Christ against the Objec-

tions of Dr. Priestley; in which it was his intention to show, how that writer had mistaken and perverted the Scripture and the Liturgy.

I have often wondered secretly, why this good man should have felt as if he was called upon to encounter a writer of Dr. Priestley's disposition, who had already passed under the strong hand of Dr. Horsley, and would have been humbled for the time to come, had he been blessed with any feeling. That Dr. Priestley is a man of parts, a versatile genius, and of great sagacity in philosophical experiments, is well known and universally allowed: but let any person follow him closely, and he will see, that if ever there was a wise man, of whom it might be said, that *the more he learnt the less he understood*, it will be found true of Dr. Priestley. His vanity made him believe, that he was wise enough to enlighten, and powerful enough to disturb the world: he was therefore for ever busy at one of these or the other; a Volcano, constantly throwing out matter for the increase of heresy, schism, or sedition, and never to be quenched by disputing. It is the way of the world, to make their estimate of a man from his parts and abilities; but it is more wise and just to measure him by the use he makes of them, to the benefit or the hurt of mankind: for the beams of the sun are used to warm and animate; while the brightness of lightning is to shatter and consume. So long as Dr. Priestley felt nothing (or seemed to feel nothing,) it had a bad effect upon him, and made him more troublesome, that such persons as Dr. Horsley and Dr. Horne should enter the lists against him: it made him appear more formidable in the eye of the public, and so it tended to gratify the prevailing passion of his mind. So far indeed as he deceived and disturbed others, a compassionate regard to *them*

might be the motive with those who disputed with him.

In the year 1786 Dr. Horne preached a sermon at the Primary Visitation of the Archbishop at Canterbury, on the duty of *contending earnestly for the Faith;* and, when this was printed, together with another discourse on the Trinity, he subjoined an advertisement, declaring his intention to answer the objections against the Divinity of Christ, which had been urged of late. "Indulgence," said he, "is requested as to the article of *time:* I cannot write so *fast* as Dr. Priestley does; and I wish to execute the work with care and attention; after which it shall be left to the judgment of the learned, the pious, and the candid, of all denominations." At the close of this year, he alludes to the advertisement, in a letter from Canterbury: "You see the task I have undertaken." And here nobody will wonder, that as he had given me his assistance in the first work I published, and its chief merit had been owing to that circumstance, he should demand of me in return any service he thought it in my power to execute: he therefore goes on, "It is undertaken in confidence of your friendly aid; and I should be happy, as we began together with Clayton, if we might end together with Priestley." For the sake of Dr. Horne, I was ready to work under him, in any capacity he should prescribe; but it always appeared to me, that Priestley was a person of too coarse a mind to be the proper object of a serious argument. That he had borrowed most of his objections, I had very little doubt; and that his remarks on Jews, Gnostics, Ebionites, Plato, Philo, and Justin Martyr, were not original; there being a magazine in store, to which the orthodox of this country do but rarely apply themselves. If this could have been

pointed out, it would have done more toward the curing of his readers, and given more mortification to himself, than the most laboured confutation of the matter in the four volumes of his Objections.

Dr. Horne, I am very sure, had a mean opinion of Priestley's originality as a scholar: he speaks of him under the character of a man, *who is defying all the world, and cannot construe a common piece of Greek or Latin* *. I find another note concerning him, with the date of 1788, affixed to it, taken from Dr. Johnson, who spoke his opinion of Priestley to Mr. Badcock in these words; "You have proved him as deficient in probity as he is in learning." Mr. Badcock had called him an *Index-scholar:* but Johnson was not willing to allow him even that merit; saying, that he borrowed from those who had been borrowers themselves, and did not know that the mistakes he adopted had been answered by others †. There was an expectation about this time, that a controversy would break out between Priestley and Gibbon; of which an arch Quaker spoke thus: "Let those who deny, and those who corrupt, the true religion of Jesus Christ, fight it out together; and let his faithful followers enjoy their mutual overthrow ‡."

In the eyes of all reasonable men, the Church of England could want but little defence, in a literary way, against an adversary so enflamed with political hatred against it, and openly avowing a design to undermine and blow up its foundations, as with an explosion of *gunpowder* §. When it comes to this, the

* Letter, Aug. 22, 1786.

† See the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1785, p. 596.

‡ Ibid. p. 600.

§ It was an observation of Dr. Horne, upon the curious sermon on Free Inquiry, that the author spoke of this Powder-plot against

dispute is no longer literary; the person who carries it on in this way, should be considered (if a gentleman) as a person of an unsound mind; if *not* a gentleman, then as an object of the penal laws of his country, if it should have any against such offenders. One, who is so wild and dangerous in his politics, must be a counterfeit in his Christianity; who, being *detected*, is thereby sufficiently *answered*.

On these considerations, without any view to the sparing of my own trouble, I was as well pleased to see, that the design of writing farther against Priestley was not prosecuted with vigour. How much had been collected for this purpose, I do not find; yet I know that the subject had been long and often in the mind of Dr. Horne; who told me when at Nayland in the year 1789, he had satisfied himself in respect to every objection from the Liturgy, except one; and that was from an expression in the Athanasian Creed, which sounded like Tritheism; the Creed affirming each person *by himself to be God and Lord*. I ventured to assure him, that the passage gave me no trouble, because I did not consider it as a metaphysical assertion, but as a plain reference to the words of the Scripture; which to each person of the Godhead, distinctly taken *by himself*, so far as that can be done, does certainly give the titles both of *God* and *Lord**. In this, therefore, instead of depending on the Creed, we only depend, as that does, upon the words of the Scripture. With this he was satisfied, and allowed that such an intention in the Creed removed the difficulty.

the Church of England with as much certainty as if he had *held the lantern*.

* See John xx. 28. Acts v. 4. and xxviii. 25. and many other like passages.

The last considerable affair in which he concerned himself while Dean of Canterbury, was an application from the Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; three of whom, in the year 1789, came up to London to petition Parliament for relief from the hard penalties under which they had long suffered. This they ventured to do, in consideration of the loyalty and attachment they had lately professed toward the King and the Constitution.

It was my lot likewise not to be an unconcerned spectator in this business. Through an intimacy which had long subsisted between myself and a gentleman of great worth and learning in the county of Kent (the Reverend Nicholas Brett, of Spring-Grove) I became acquainted with the Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Abernethy Drummond of Howthornden, and had frequently corresponded with him. As soon as he came to London with his colleagues on the business aforesaid, he wrote me word of his arrival, and explained the cause of the journey they had undertaken. Being myself of too inconsiderable a station to be of any immediate service to them in a matter of such importance, I thought it the most prudent step I could take, to forward the letter to a great person: who, with his usual goodness and discretion, undertook to be an advocate for them; together with many other persons of high respectability; and their petition was at length brought to such an issue, as excited great thankfulness in the petitioners, though it did not exactly come up to the wishes they had formed at setting out.

There was no small difficulty in making some persons understand, who and what these poor petitioners were: and the case, notwithstanding all that has passed, may still be the same with many at this day.

I therefore hope to be excused, if I enlarge a little in this place on their history and character, as they appeared, and were known to Dr. Horne; whose good opinion will be remembered as an honour, and may be of some use to them hereafter.

He had considered, that there is such a thing as a pure and primitive Constitution of the Church of Christ, when viewed apart from those outward appendages of worldly power, and worldly protection, which are sometimes mistaken, as if they were as essential to the being of the Church, as they are useful to its sustentation. The history of the Christian Church, in its early ages, is a proof of the contrary; when it underwent various hardships and sufferings from the fluctuating policy of earthly kingdoms. And the same happened to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, at the Revolution in 1688; when Episcopacy was abolished by the State, and the Presbyterian form of Church-Government established *. By this establishment the Bishops were deprived of their Jurisdiction, and of all right to the Temporalities of their Sees. But in this forlorn state they still continued to exist, and to exercise the spiritual functions of their episcopal character: by means of which, a regular succession of Bishops, and episcopally ordained Clergymen, has been kept up in Scotland, under all the disadvantages arising from a suspicion of their being disaffected to the Crown, and attached to the interest of an exiled family. While attempts were making in behalf of that

* It is notorious, that the violence of the adverse party against the Episcopal Church in Scotland began *before* the Government under King William was settled: when it could not be known by experience whether they would join with it or not. Before the Convention met, their Clergy were forcibly driven from their churches, and their possessions seized.

family, a variety of circumstances rendered it impossible for them to remove this suspicion, notwithstanding the many inconveniences and hardships to which it exposed them. All they could do was to conduct themselves in such a quiet manner, as might at length convince the Government, they had nothing to fear from a Scotch Episcopal Church, and, consequently, that there was no necessity for the execution of those severe laws, which on different occasions had been enacted against it.

At last the happy period came, which was to relieve them from this embarrassing situation. The wisdom and clemency of his late Majesty's Government encouraged them to hope, that an offer of their allegiance would not be rejected: and as soon as they could make that offer in a conscientious manner, they had the satisfaction to find by the King's answer to their address, that it was graciously accepted: in consequence of which, they could not but hope, that the British Legislature would take their case into consideration, and see the expediency of relieving both Clergy and Laity of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland from the penalties to which they were exposed in the exercise of their religion.

With this hope, three * of their Bishops, as I have said, came to London in the year 1789; and, notwithstanding the ample recommendations they brought with them from their own country, they found it a work of time to make themselves and their application properly understood. It would have been barbarous, after the die was cast, to have thrown any discouragement in their way: but I was of opinion, from the be-

* Dr. John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen; Dr. Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh; and Dr. William Strachan, Bishop of Brechin.

ginning, that they were come *too soon:* more preparation was requisite than they were aware of. The penal laws had reduced the Scotch Episcopal Church to a condition so depressed and obscure, that it could scarcely be known to exist, but by such persons as were previously acquainted with its history. Among these, none entered more willingly and warmly than the then good Dean of Canterbury. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the Scotch Bishops at London, he was anxious to let them know how heartily he approved of the object of their journey, and kindly offered every assistance in his power to bring the matter to a happy conclusion. He paid them every mark of attention both at London and Oxford; and, when they set out on their return to Scotland, without having attained their object, he expressed, in very affectionate terms, his concern at their disappointment, and told them at parting not to be discouraged: for, said he, "your cause is good, and your request so reasonable, that it cannot long be denied."

In February 1791, after having taken his seat in the House of Lords as Bishop of Norwich, he wrote a friendly letter to Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen, assuring him and the other members of the Committee for managing the business of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, that any help in his power should be at their service: and speaking of their applying anew to both Houses of Parliament, he said, "It grieved him to think they had so much heavy work to do over again; but business of that sort required patience and perseverance."

It was said about this time, that the Lord Chancellor, Thurlow, withheld his consent to the Scotch Episcopal Bill, till he should be satisfied by some of the English Prelates, that there really were Bishops in

Scotland. When Bishop Horne was waited upon with this view by the Committee of the Scotch Church, and one of them observed, that his Lordship could assure the Chancellor they were *good Bishops*, he answered, with his usual affability and good humour, "Yes, Sir, much better bishops than I am."

A clergyman of Scotland, who had received English ordination, applied to him, wishing to be considered as under the jurisdiction of some English Bishop; that is, to be, in effect, independent of the Bishops of Scotland in their own country; but he gave no countenance to the proposal, and advised the person who made it quietly to acknowledge the Bishop of the diocese in which he lived, who, he knew, would be ready to receive him into communion, and require nothing of him, but what was necessary to maintain the order and unity of a Christian Church; assuring him, at the same time, that, if he were a private clergyman himself, he should be glad to be under the authority of such a Bishop. One anecdote more upon this subject, and I have done.

From the present circumstances of its primitive orthodoxy, piety, poverty, and depressed state, he had such an opinion of this Church, as to think, that, if the great Apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like to the people he had been used to. This happened, as I perfectly recollect, while we were talking together on the subject of the Scotch Petition, on one of the hills near the city of Canterbury, higher than the pinnacles of the Cathedral, where there was no witness to our discourse but the sky that was over our heads, and yet, when all things are duly con-

sidered, I think no good man would have been angry, if he had overheard us.

If the reader should wish to know more of the people of this communion, let him consult an Ecclesiastical History of the Church of Scotland, by Mr. Skinner, father to the late worthy Bishop of Aberdeen; a history comprehending a plain and unaffected detail of facts very interesting and amusing: and I hope he will also be convinced by the narrative I have here given, not only that the Bishops of Scotland are true Christian Bishops, but that the Bishops of England, from the part they kindly took in the affair, do little deserve the clamour which some have raised against them, as if they were so dazzled by their temporalities, as to lose sight of their spiritual character, and bury the Christian Bishop in the Peer of Parliament.

The year 1789 was the fatal period, when French infidelity, with all the enthusiastic fury of fanaticism, which it had affected to abhor, rose up to destroy all regal authority, to extirpate all religion, to silence with the halter or the axe all that were not with them; and, in consequence of their success at home, undertook to shake, and dissolve, if possible, all the kingdoms of the world. When this tremendous form of wickedness first appeared, it happened that I was at Canterbury, on a visit to the Dean; and being called upon to preach in the Cathedral, I took the subject of the time, and freely delivered my own sense of it; which is now, I believe, the universal sense of all that are true friends to this country. But some persons, to whose affairs a similar Revolution in England would have been of great service, were very much offended; and one of them abused me grossly for it in a Newspaper. Not many weeks after, the Dean himself, on a Court holiday, took the same subject in the same

pulpit; in consequence of which, the same person that had reviled me was heard to declare, that his sermon ought to be *burned by the hangman.* When he informed me by letter of this accident, he observed upon it in his easy way, that, as our doctrines, in bad times, would certainly bring us both to the lamp-post, it might then be said of us "in their death they were not divided." The character of the man, who had treated us with all this insolence, was so vulnerable from its infamy, that some other person, who was intimately acquainted with his exploits, paid off our scores to the last farthing, by exposing them to the public in a paper of the time. In so doing, he verified a wise observation, which I once received from a traveller in France, who had seen and knew more of the world than any I ever met with: "The man," said he, "who injures me without provocation, will never be able to contain himself without injuring others in like manner; some of whom will be sure to pay off my scores, and save me the trouble: and in the course of my life, I never yet found, but that somebody or other, in due time, revenged my quarrel, far beyond its value, upon that man whose ill manners and insolence I had patiently neglected *."

The life of Dr. Horne, during his episcopate, affords but few incidents considerable enough to be here related: but there was one, which became the subject of much conversation between him and some of his friends. In the summer of the year 1790, he was upon a visit at the seat of a gentleman in Norfolk, for whom he had a great regard. I met his Lordship there,

* The two discourses here spoken of are to be found in Bishop Horne's Sermons, vol. IV. disc. xvi. Jones's works, vol. V. disc. xvi.

by his appointment; and it so happened, that during our visit, Mr. John Wesley was upon his circuit about the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and came to a market-town very near us. Here he had many followers; and, being desirous of preaching to a large congregation, he sent some of his friends to the minister of the place, to ask for the use of the parish church for the forenoon of the next day. The clergyman was under some difficulty how to conduct himself; but, recollecting that the Bishop of the diocese was near at hand, he advised them to go and ask his permission. The messengers accordingly went; and the Bishop sent them back to the clergyman with this answer: "Mr. Wesley is a regularly ordained Clergyman of the Church of England; and, if the minister makes no objection, I shall make none." So it was determined that Mr. Wesley should preach in the church the next day. As I never had an interview with that extraordinary man, and had often desired to meet him, I would have taken this opportunity; especially as there was a matter of no small importance, concerning which I had a question to ask him. But being at this time an attendant upon the Bishop of the diocese, we did not know how it might appear, and were unwilling to run the hazard of such reports as might have been raised upon the occasion. But our friend, at whose house we then were, being of the Laity, was under none of our difficulties; and a more intelligent person for the purpose was no where to be found. I therefore requested him to get to the speech of Mr. Wesley in private, after the sermon should be over, and to ask him in my name the following question: "Whether it was true, as I had been assured, that he had invested two gentlemen with the *Episcopal* character, and had sent them, in that capacity, over

to America?" With some difficulty our friend obtained a private audience, and, after some short civilities had passed, he put his question. At first, Mr. Wesley was not direct in his answer; but by degrees he owned the fact, and gave the following reason for it; that, as soon as we had made peace with America, and allowed them their independence, all religious connexion, between this country and the independent colonies, was at an end; in consequence of which the Sectaries fell to work to increase their several parties, and the *Anabaptists* in particular were carrying all before them. Something therefore was to be done, without loss of time, for his *poor people* (as he called them) in America: and he had therefore taken the step in question, with the hope of preventing farther disorders. The fact being not denied, the gentleman, who, for a layman, is as able a Churcheasuist as most of his own or any other order, began to inquire a little farther into the case, with the desire to know, how Mr. Wesley had satisfied his own mind in this matter, and what grounds he had gone upon. But as they were proceeding, some of his friends, either being impatient of any delay, or suspecting that some mischief might be going forward, came abruptly into the room, and reminded Mr. Wesley that he had no more time to spare. Thus the conference was ended, and our friend was obliged to take his leave. Some time afterwards (for we had left his house that morning) he gave us this account, as nearly as I can recollect; and having been present at Mr. Wesley's sermon, was so well pleased, that he wished half the clergy of the Church of England had preached the same doctrines, with the same zeal and devotion *.

* Let us hope that the *other* half *do* preach them.

In this preaching of Mr. Wesley, and the subject of the conference, when compared together, we have the character of Methodism complete: *it is Christian godliness without Christian order*. It is pity we could not obtain Mr. Wesley's own sense of the commission with which *his* Bishops were sent out: but as we were disappointed in that, we must inquire for ourselves, and answer as well as we can, without his help. The case obliges us to ask these two questions: 1. With what view was this done? and 2. By what authority? By Mr. Wesley's own account, this was his expedient for the preventing of confusion: whence we may gather, that he supposed confusion was not to be prevented among Christians, but by retaining the order of Bishops: and farther, that unity had, in his opinion, been preserved among his own people by their relation to the Episcopacy of the Church of England, from which neither he nor they did ever profess themselves to be in a state of separation. Of this many proofs might be given. Their present application to the Bishop of the diocese was a confession of his authority, and signified a desire of acting under it: and Mr. Wesley had presented himself at the communion in the Cathedral Church at Bristol, and had received it from the hands of Bishop Bagot, as the Bishop himself informed me. Mr. Wesley might perhaps have considered farther, that, if Bishops were wanting in America, for the preservation of unity among his people, and he himself did not send them, nobody else ever would: for, as the British Government did not send them, when it had power so to do, it was little to be expected they would attempt it when they had none. I cannot say what use he might make of the dispute between Dr. Mayhew, an American Dissenter, and Archbishop Secker, about the sending of Bishops

from hence to America; which I have always considered as the beginning and cause of the revolt that soon followed: this, I say, I do not know, and it would be vain to speculate: therefore let us now ask the second question, by what *authority* he sent Bishops to America?

There are but two possible ways of putting men truly into the ministry: the one is by *succession;* the other by immediate revelation or appointment from God himself. Paul received his commission to preach, not *of man,* nor *by man,* but of God; who *put him into the ministry.* Other ministers of the Gospel receive their commission by imposition of hands, from those who had received it before. In this latter way of succession, no man can possibly give that which he hath not received. Mr. Wesley, being himself but a presbyter, could no more make a bishop, than a member of the House of Commons can make a member of the House of Lords, who is made by creation from the King; the less is blessed of the greater, not the greater of the less. And, as this could not be done by Mr. Wesley in virtue of what he was, it must be done in virtue of what he thought himself to be; a vicar-general of heaven, who was above all human rules, and could give a commission by a superior right vested in his own person. If he acted of himself, as John Wesley, a presbyter of the Church of England, he acted against all sense and order; and, by taking upon himself what no man can take, he would introduce in the issue more confusion than he would prevent. The end will never be prosperous, when we do evil that good may come; and, if it doth not please God to uphold his own work in his own way, no man can do it for him. He may seem to do something, but it will not last; he works upon a principle, the tendency of

which is not to edification but to dissolution. If Mr. Wesley did not act as of himself, but as by immediate revelation from God, and by the primary authority of Jesus Christ in his Church, then he was an Enthusiast, in the strictest and fullest sense of the word; and any other person, or any hundred persons, might act as he did, if they could think of themselves as he thought of himself. But all such confusion was foreseen and prevented, by the rules and orders of a Church, visibly appointed and visibly continued. When any people, whoever they are, think they can act with God against the rules of God, they are either become Rationalists, who do all by human authority, and deny all spiritual communication between God and man; or Enthusiasts, who think the Inspiration or Spirit of the Gospel has set them above the forms of the Church; which persuasion terminates in Spiritual Republicanism. In the Christian society, two things are to be kept up with all diligence; these are unity and piety. The man who should suppose, that unity without piety will be sufficient to carry him to heaven, would be under a great mistake, and he would be justly condemned and despised for it. But is not he, who supposes that piety without unity will carry him to heaven, under as great (and, if he believes the Apostle, as dangerous) a mistake*? The subject merits great consideration: but I say no more of it in this place. It reminds me of an anecdote I heard several years ago, and I believe Bishop Horne was my author. When John and Charles Wesley began their new ministry, one of them went to consult with Mr. William Law, as a person of profound

* See and consider the xiith and xiiith chapters of 1 Cor. the xiiith as a continuation of the xiith. Some excellent hints will be found on this subject in the Cautions to the Readers of Mr. Law, printed in the Appendix.

judgment in spiritual matters; and, when the case had been opened, and the intention explained, Mr. Law made answer; "Mr. Wesley, if you wish to reform the world and spread the Gospel, you must undertake the work in the same spirit as you would take a Curacy in the Peak of Derbyshire; but, if you pretend to a new commission, and go forth in the spirit and power of an Apostle, your scheme will end in Bedlam."

John Wesley was a wonderful man in his way: his labours were abundant and almost incredible *: in many respects he did good; he made thousands of people sober and godly: and, while he was doing good, he avoided evil; he avoided (at least in words) the sin of schism: he took the Christian side, in stating the *origin of power*, against the Republicans of America; for which he was abused as an *old fox*, who only wanted to be made a bishop. But with all this he raised a society on such principles as cannot preserve its unity; and thence, in effect, its exist-

* Among his own people, he seemed to do more than he did. Of this I was informed by a bookseller, who like others had been injured in his trade by the encroachments of Mr. Wesley in the way of book-making: and I was witness to some instances of this myself. He put his name to a Translation of Thomas a Kempis, as if the Translation had been his own: but a friend shewed me an old Translation, with which it agreed, so far as we could see, in every word. He put his name to a Compendium of Philosophy, though he tells us curiously in the Preface, it was taken from the work of a Professor at Jena in Germany: yet he must be allowed great merit in amplifying the work. He sold a work of mine, as if it had been an original work, partly copied, and partly put into English verse, without asking the consent, or making a word of acknowledgment, in the Title or a Preface, to the author. He was free to produce any possible good from any labour of mine, without being envied: but such proceedings have too much the appearance of party-craft to consist well with honest unaffected piety.

ence. I now understand, that partly from the loss of their leader, and partly from the confusion of the times, they have embraced some bad opinions; in consequence of which, with little or no relation to the Church, they will not much longer be distinguished from other dissenters, and may in time be as bad as the worst of them. When the lamp is broken, the snuff may lie burning for a time; but the supply of oil being gone, the light can be of no long continuance. If the Methodists would keep what they have got, and prevent their own ruin, they must do as Mr. Wesley did: they must preserve some relation to the Church, so long as any Church shall remain to which they may be related.

About a year after the accident of the Sermon and the Conference, a Life of Mr. Wesley was published by a Mr. Hampson, in which the fact of sending out bishops is confessed. This book Bishop Horne had procured; and, taking it out of his pocket as we were walking together in his garden at Norwich, he turned to the passage and shewed it me: and afterwards he put it into his Charge, which was the last work he printed before his death: and this brings me to the end of his *literary life*.

For the sake of those who admire Bishop Horne's works, and were not acquainted with his person, it may be proper, before I conclude, to say something of his *natural life*. When he first came to the University of Oxford, he was quite a boy; but being at a time of life when boys alter very fast, he soon grew up into a person so agreeable, that, at the opening of the Radcliffe Library, when all were assembled and made their best appearance, I heard it said of him, that there was not then a handsomer young man in the Theatre. But he was not of a strong and muscular constitution;

and, from the disadvantage of being very near-sighted (quite helpless without the use of a glass) he did not render himself more robust by the practice of any athletic exercise. Amusements of that sort gave him more trouble than they were worth, and he never pursued them with any alacrity. It is related of Bishop Bull, that he was not addicted to any innocent pleasure, which is often necessary to unbend the mind, and preserve the body in health and vigour. The only diversion (if it may be called a diversion) to which this great man was addicted, was the enjoyment of agreeable conversation: and the same was the favourite amusement of Dr. Horne to the end of his life. I wish every young man who is intended for a scholar, had some good or some necessary reason for not being led away by any sort of recreation. It was of service to his mind, that he was no fisherman, no shooter, no hunter, no horseman: the cultivation of his understanding was therefore carried on with less interruption, and his improvements were rapid. While on horseback he seemed to be in more danger than other young men: and he had a friend, who was so much concerned for his safety, that he sometimes rode after him, to watch over him, without letting him know of it. But so it happened, notwithstanding his vigilance, that he saw him suffer one bad fall, upon a dirty road, into a deep slough, and another upon very hard ground in the middle of the summer. His horse was then upon a gallop, and the fall pitched him upon his forehead; but, by the protection of a good Providence, the blow only gave him a head-ach, which soon went off without any other ill effect. When he came at last to be a Bishop, the friend, who had formerly been his attendant, reminded him of these accidents, and observed upon them, "My Lord, I saw you fall twice,

I have seen you rise three times:" meaning, that he had first risen to be President of Magdalen College, then to be Dean of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. The year after he came to Oxford, he fell sick of the small-pox, which proved very favourable, and he was removed to a house upon the hill at Headington for an airing; where his recovery had raised his spirits to such a pitch, that his friends could not but observe the growing vigour of his mind, and augurate that his wits were intended for some very active part upon the stage of human life, as it afterwards proved.

In the year 1758 he was appointed junior Proctor of the University; on the 27th of April, 1759, he took the degree of B.D. and on the 28th of January, 1764, that of D.D. His health continued tolerably good, till the time of his proctorship: and here it ought in justice to be remembered, that he made one of the best Proctors ever known in the University of Oxford. He was strict in the exercise of his office; but his strictness was accompanied by so much mildness and goodness, that he was equally beloved and feared. His duty called upon him to visit and inspect the houses of poor and disorderly people; in one of which he took the measles, and suffered much by that distemper. The time at which this accident happened was in one respect rather unfortunate; for he was confined at the time when he should have resigned his office by a personal attendance in the Theatre. Dr. Thurlow, the late Bishop of Durham, being at that time *Collector*, delivered the Latin speech, at the close of which he spoke to this effect: "As to the late Proctor, I shall speak of him but in few words, for the truth of which I can appeal to all that are here present. If ever virtue itself was visible and dwelt upon earth,

it was in the person who this day lays down his office." Which words were followed by an universal clapping. It was fortunate in one respect that he was not present; for thus it came to pass, that full justice was done to his character.

On the 27th of January 1768, on the death of Dr. Jenner, he was elected President of Magdalen College: in 1771 he was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty; which appointment he held till he was preferred to the Deanry of Canterbury, on the 22d of September 1731: and on the 7th of June 1791 he was consecrated Bishop of Norwich in Lambeth Chapel, on the translation of Dr. Bagot to the see of St. Asaph. After he became President of Magdalen College, he adhered to the interest of Mr. Jenkinson (now Earl of Liverpool) a little to the disturbance of his academical peace. Mr. Jenkinson had been one of his contemporaries at University College; a gentleman, who from his first appearance in the University, always promised to *do* something, and to *be* something, beyond other men of his time. It was not possible that two such young men as he and Mr. Horne could be near neighbours without being fond of each others company. The friendship once formed was ever after preserved; and when Mr. Jenkinson, though well known to be of what was then called the Court party, offered himself to represent the University in Parliament, his two friends, the President of Magdalen, and the Master of University College, voted for him without success. Their departure on this occasion from what was then thought the *old* and proper interest of the University, brought upon them some animadversions from a few of the warmest advocates on the other side; and little scurrilous witticisms flew about

against them both in the newspapers; which, so far as their own persons were concerned, had little effect upon either, but that of exciting their laughter; and they have often been heard to make themselves merry with several passages of that time.

Soon after he was advanced to the Presidentship of Magdalen College, he married the only daughter of Philip Burton, Esq. a lady for whom he always preserved the most inviolate affection. By her he had three daughters; of whom the eldest is married to the Rev. Mr. Selby Hele, and the youngest to the Rev. Mr. Hole. The unmarried daughter resides with Mrs. Horne, at Uxbridge. The former residence of this family near Windsor introduced him to the acquaintance of several great and respectable characters in that neighbourhood, particularly Sir George Howard, who received, and may probably have preserved, many of his letters *.

In the year 1776 he was appointed Vice-chancellor of the University, and continued in that office till October 1780. His vice-chancellorship introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord North, then Chancellor of the University: a nobleman, who to a fine temper and pleasant wit, had added such good principles and useful learning, that he found in Dr. Horne a person exactly suited to his own mind; and I suppose

* I recollect in this place an accident which happened to one of his letters. He corresponded formerly with Mr. Price of Epsom, whose lady was the sister of Andrew Stone, Esq. By a mistake one of these letters fell into the hands of Mr. Stone; and it happened to contain some free remarks upon the lives and characters of courtiers. When this was lamented as an unfortunate circumstance, "No, no," said Mr. Price, "no misfortune at all—very proper those busy gentlemen in high life should see what learned men think of them and their situation."

it owing to the united interest of Lord North and the present Earl of Liverpool, that he was made Dean of Canterbury. When this happened, he would willingly have quitted his cares at Oxford, and taken up his residence in Kent, his native county; but that a friend, to whose judgment he owed respect, would not agree to the prudence of such a step. As for the Dean himself, worldly advantage was no object with him; he lived as he ought; and, if he was no loser at the year's end, he was perfectly satisfied. This I know, because I have had it under his own hand, that he laid up nothing from his preferments in the Church. What he gave away was with such secrecy, that it was supposed by some persons to be little: but, after his death, when the pensioners, to whom he had been a constant benefactor, rose up, to look about them for some other support, then it began to be known who and how many they were. He complained to one of his most intimate friends, how much it was out of his way to discover such objects as were worthy and proper, because he descended so little into commerce with the world; yet, said he, let any body shew me, in any case, what ought to be done, and they will always find me ready to do it. So far as he knew, he did good; and often attempted it, when he could not know; which is more or less the case with every charitable man. The discernment of objects is the privilege of God alone; who yet doeth good unto all, where we know it not.

As often as he was at Canterbury, his time passed very pleasantly: he was in his native county: the families of the place and the neighbourhood shewed him the greatest respect, and were delighted with his company and conversation: if he could have indulged himself with prudence, as he wished to do, he would

have fixed himself there for the remainder of his life: but he still submitted to the unsettled life of a pilgrim, between the two situations of his College and his Deanry; with every thing that laid between Oxford and Canterbury he was acquainted, and with little besides. In the year 1788 his constitutional infirmities began to increase upon him: "I have been more than ever harassed (said he) this year, for four months past, with defluxions on my head and breast: they have driven me to take the benefit of the Headington air, this charming season *, which, by God's blessing, will enable me to get clear for the summer, I believe. But, as I grow older, I shall dread the return of winter. Do you know what could be done in the way of preservative? My good friends of the Church wish me to continue here, and engage to do the business of the Midsummer Chapter without me. I am urged to get once more upon a *horse*—as much like an ass as possible. Long disuse hath now been added to an original awkwardness: however, by keeping to a gentle pace, I shall avoid *going off*, as you remember it was my hap once to do, like a frog from a board." The visiting of some watering-place, Brighthelmstone, or Ramsgate, for the benefit of sea-bathing, had often been of great service to him. But notwithstanding all that could be done, he grew old faster than his years would account for, being now only in his fifty-seventh year; so that when a design was formed of making him a bishop, he felt himself by no means inclined to undertake the charge of so weighty an office; and it was not till after much reasoning with himself, that he was prevailed upon to accept it. I do not remember, that I ever took upon me,

* The letter is dated May 20, 1788.

while this affair was depending, to throw in one word of advice, for it or against it; but rather that I left all things to work, as Providence should direct *. It was a sincere affliction to me, when I attended him at Norwich, to see how his limbs began to fail him. The Palace there is entered by a large flight of steps; on which he observed one day, "Alas! I am come to these steps, at a time of life, when I can neither go up them nor down them with safety." However, he resisted his infirmities with a degree of resolution. He accustomed himself to walk early in the garden by my persuasion; and assented to it, in his pleasant way, with these words: "Mr. William, (for so it had been his custom to call me for many years) "I have heard you say, that the air of the morning is a *dram to the mind:* I will rise to-morrow and *take a dram.*" That the faculties of his mind did not fail, in the way it was imagined, so long as he remained at Norwich, I could show by the contents of the last letter he wrote to me, within a few weeks of his death; in which there is the same humour and spirit as had distinguished him in the prime of his life. That he was not subject to fits of weakness in his mind, I do not say: he could not persevere in a train of thought, as he used to do, but

* Very soon after the nomination of Dean Horne to the See of Norwich, a clergyman of that city, calling upon a clergyman of the city of London, said to him, "Report tells us that the Dean of Canterbury is to be our Bishop." "Yes," said the London clergyman, "so I hear, and I am glad of it, for he will make a truly Christian Bishop."—"Indeed!" replied the other: "well, I do not know him myself, being a Cambridge man; but it is currently reported at Norwich that he is a Methodist."—The same clergyman, when he became acquainted with his Bishop, was much delighted with him; and afterwards lamented his death as a great loss to the Christian Church in general, and to the Diocese of Norwich in particular.

applied himself by short intervals as his ability would permit; and in that way he could execute more than we should have expected from him, under his bodily infirmities. From two visits to Bath he had received sensible benefit, and was meditating a third, when I left him in the autumn of 1791, which he had been requested not to defer too long. At my departure from Norwich, he carried me in his coach about ten miles; and we conversed by the way on the subject of his Charge, of which his mind was full, and which he was then beginning to print. When I had made him a promise to meet him during his next visit at Bath, he set me down at Lodden, and I betook myself to my horses. That moment will for ever dwell, like a black spot, upon the mind, in which we had the last sight of a beloved friend. After this parting I never saw him more. His company I can now seek only in his writings; which are almost my daily delight. His journey to Bath, contrary to the persuasion of his friends, was deferred too long. Yet he had still such remaining vigour in his mind, that he did not intend to make his visit to Bath an idle one; but selected from his manuscript Sermons a sufficient number to compose a volume, and took them with him, intending to employ a printer at Bath upon them. To this he was partly encouraged by an observation his good and affectionate lady had made upon him, from the experience of several years, that he never seemed to be so well as when he had printers about him; of which she had even then seen a striking example at Norwich. But, alas! while he was upon the road, he suffered a paralytic stroke, and, though very ill, finished his journey. Mrs. Horne after this wrote me a letter, full of hope, that, as the Bishop could walk to the pump-room daily, he would still recover: in consequence of which, I

went with some courage to London, intending to go on from thence to Bath; but was informed, as soon as I arrived in town, that he was not expected to continue many days: and the next day brought us the melancholy news of his death.

My worthy friend and pleasant companion, the Reverend Charles Millard, his chaplain, was with him at Bath, and was witness to many affecting passages which happened towards his latter end. Bad as he was, if Mrs. Horne entered the room, he spoke to her with his usual cheerfulness; although a stupor commonly oppressed him, under which his mind wandered, and his speech was confused: but from what could be understood, his thoughts were always at work upon some heavenly subject. When it was proposed that the Holy Communion should be administered to him by his chaplain, "By all means," said he, "you cannot do a better thing." In this service he joined with great devotion, and when it was ended, "Now," said he, "I am blessed indeed *!"

On the Friday before his death, while his housekeeper was in waiting by his bed-side, he asked her, on what day of the week the *seventeenth* day of the month would fall? She answered on Tuesday. "Make a note of that," said he, "in a book:" which, to satisfy him, she pretended to do. This proved to be the day on which he died—as quietly as he had lived. From this occurrence, a rumour got abroad, as if he had received some forewarning of the time of his death. To this I can *say* nothing; but I can *think*, without any danger of being mistaken, that if ever there was a man in these latter days, who was worthy

* The letter of Mrs. Elizabeth Salmon, describing this scene, is well worth reading.

to receive from above any unusual testimony due to superior piety, he was that man.

The affliction of his family was much relieved at this time by the friendly and charitable visits of the celebrated Mrs. Hannah More, who was then at Bath, and well knew how much was due to the memory of the departed Bishop.

One of his Lordship's chaplains attended him to his grave, and then returned in sorrow to Norwich: his other chaplain paid the tribute due to his memory in a plain monumental inscription. Both of them can unite in declaring, as they do with pleasure, that the loss to the diocese of Norwich, and to themselves in particular, hath been repaired far beyond their expectations, in the person of their present Diocesan, the respectable and amiable successor of Dr. Horne. May his days be as long and as happy, in his present situation, as those of his predecessor were few and evil!

The inscription is upon the tomb where he was buried, in the church-yard at Eltham in Kent, the residence of his father-in-law Mr. Burton; and the same is repeated upon a Tablet of Marble affixed to a pillar on the north side of the choir of the Cathedral Church at Norwich; of which the following is a copy:

Sacred to the Memory of
The Right Reverend GEORGE HORNE, D.D.
Many Years President of Magdalen College in Oxford,
Dean of Canterbury,
And late Bishop of this Diocese:
In whose Character
Depth of Learning, Brightness of Imagination,
Sanctity of Manners, and Sweetness of Temper
Were united beyond the usual Lot of Mortality.
With his Discourses from the Pulpit, his Hearers,
Whether of the University, the City, or the Country Parish,
Were edified and delighted.
His Commentary on the Psalms will continue to be
A Companion to the Closet,
Till the Devotion of Earth shall end in the Hallelujahs of Heaven.
His soul, having patiently suffered under such Infirmities,
As seemed not due to his Years,
Took its flight from this Vale of Misery,
To the unspeakable Loss of the Church of England,
And his surviving Friends and Admirers,
January 17, 1792, in the 62d Year of his Age.

Thus have I brought this good man to his end, through the labours and studies of his life; in all which his example may be attended with some happy effect on those who shall make themselves acquainted with his history. In writing it I have not permitted myself to consider, what suppressions or alterations would have rendered it more agreeable to some people into whose hands it may fall. As truth will generally succeed best in the end, I have made the story such as I found it. I have concealed nothing out of fear; I have added nothing out of malice; and must now commit what I have written to that variety of judgment, which all my other writings have met with.

Some slight reports have been thrown out, which, without such an explanation as I have in readiness, might be understood to the disadvantage of his memory. A short life of him was written in the year 1793*, by the Rev. Mr. Todd, a clergyman of the

* In a volume intitled Some Account of the Deans of Canterbury, &c. &c. by Henry John Todd, M.A.

Church of Canterbury, who has spoken very highly of him, but not above his character in any one respect. Yet some writer in a periodical publication could not content himself without making invidious comparisons, and insinuating to the public that Mr. Todd had been guilty of exaggeration; but I may appeal to the feelings of the reader, whether it be not a worse mistake, in such a case as the present, to depreciate with an ill design than to exaggerate with a good one; even supposing Mr. Todd to have done so; which to me doth not appear. I take Mr. Todd to be a man who loves the Bishop's writings; and I take his censor to be a man who loves them not: and though I have enlarged on many things much farther from my own knowledge, than it was possible or proper for Mr. Todd to do, I would nevertheless advise my readers to consult his account, which I believe to be very accurate in respect of its *dates*, and in the titles, and the particular circumstances which gave occasion to the several pieces, which were written by Dr. Horne, at the different stages of his life.

It has been hinted to me that Dr. Horne had embraced a sort of philosophy in the early part of his life, which he found reason to give up toward the latter end of it. Before it can be judged how far this may be true, a necessary distinction is to be made. I do not recollect, that his writings any where discover a professed attachment to the Hebrew criticisms of Mr. Hutchinson; and I could prove abundantly, from his private letters to myself, that he was no friend to the use of such evidence either in philosophy or divinity. But that he ever renounced or disbelieved *that* Philosophy, which asserts the true *agency* of nature, and the respective uses of the *elements*, or that he did not always admire, and so far as he thought it

prudent insist upon it and recommend it, is not true. And I need not here appeal to any of his private letters, because some of his most serious and premeditated compositions assert this in terms sufficiently plain and strong. In his Commentary on the last Psalm he shows us what idea he had formed of the natural world. On the words, *Praise him in the firmament of his power*, he has the following comment: "which power is more especially displayed in the formation of the firmament, or expansion of the material heavens, and their incessant operations by means of the light and the air, of which they are composed, upon the earth and all things therein. These are the appointed instruments of life and motion in the natural world, and they afford us some idea of that power of God unto salvation, which is manifested in the Church by the effects produced on the souls of men, through the gracious influences of the light divine, and the Spirit of Holiness, constituting the firmament of God's power in the new creation." In this passage it is the author's doctrine, that the firmament signifies the substance of the material heaven; and that this substance is composed of light and air. And farther, that these are the appointed instruments of life and motion in the natural world: that they give us an idea of the power of God, who acts in the œconomy of grace by the divine light and spirit, the Son and Holy Ghost, as he acts in nature by the operation of the air and light upon all things; and that thus the two kingdoms of grace and nature are similar in their constitution, and confirm one another. In this doctrine, the doctrine of a philosophy which the world does not generally receive, the author of the Commentary persevered to the last day of his life. And why should he not, when it is pal-

pably true? Whoever asserts the agency of nature, and the offices of the elements as here described, need be afraid of no contradiction: he stands upon a rock, and has all nature to support him; and the long experience of mankind, however it may lose itself in the endless mazes of chemistry, and leave what is useful, to hunt after what is new, does yet all tend to confirm this universal principle, that matter acts upon matter, and that the world and all things therein are moved, sustained, and animated, by the agency of the heavens upon the earth. The persuasion was once almost universal in this country, that matter is invested with attraction, repulsion, and gravitation, as *immaterial* principles: but this persuasion hath very much abated of late years; and it should never be forgotten, that Newton himself left the question open. It was indeed once thought that the motion of a secondary planet, or satellite, was a case which demonstrated the necessity of attraction: but since that time, the phænomena of electricity have taught us, that æther can act from an opaque body as from a luminous one; and therefore, that the same element may move both the primary and secondary; of which discovery philosophers had no conception when gravity first came into fashion. Our Royal Society have therefore expressed a disposition to admit such a cause of motion, if it can be reasonably applied to the case. Sir John Pringle recommended it to be examined whether there be not a certain fluid acting as the cause of gravity, and of the various *attractions*, and of the animal and vital motions: and it has been argued by other members of the society concerning the solar system, as if it were *now* more apparent than heretofore, that an æther is dispersed through all space, which gives to bodies a tendency from its denser

to its rarer parts. In this the followers of Newton and Hutchinson are now so nearly agreed, that it is to be lamented that science should suffer by any of their disputes, or that the name of any person should be held in contempt upon that account; particularly of so excellent a person as Dr. Horne. Why this good man should be reported to have renounced what Newton himself, if he had seen what we have seen, would probably have adopted and carried on in his superior way, I cannot understand. Therefore I distinguish once more, that the philosophy, which Dr. Horne professed, did not depend on doubtful interpretations of the Scripture, but was confirmed by reason and experience, as it was argued in his State of the Case between Newton and Hutchinson; from which he never departed, and from which no sensible man could depart. In philosophy, thus defined and limited, he and I were always of a mind. Of myself I will say but little; and that little should have been omitted, if I had not been forced upon an explanation, which I did not expect. For the proof of such a system of nature as Newton was not averse to, I published a large quarto volume, above seven hundred copies of which are dispersed about the world; and there must be learned and ingenious men to whom the thing is not unknown. Against some particulars there may be weighty objections; but against the general plan, I never yet saw one, that would trouble me for five minutes to answer it. Yet it does not follow, that people will see as we do. Where things have a new appearance, the world must have time; and the author who proposes them must wait with patience, and bear with every kind of opposition and defamation; the latter of which is never to be understood as an unpromising symptom: for it shows that

an adversary is in distress, when he answers any thing, in such words, as will equally answer every thing. From the books of foreigners I learn, that attraction and repulsion are not in such estimation as they were fifty years ago. And at home, the ingenious Mr. George Adams, who has been a student and practitioner in Natural Philosophy for more than twenty years, has found it necessary to adopt the new agency of nature, and has made his use of it through the whole course of a large work, which may be considered as an Encyclopædia in Natural Philosophy, taking a larger circuit than has yet been attempted by any writer upon the science. Other ingenious men may in time (as I am confident they will) follow his example; till it shall be no longer thought an *honour* to Dr. Horne that he *renounced* this Philosophy, but that he did *not* renounce it.

If the reader will not be displeased with me I will tell him a secret, which he may use as a key to decypher some things not commonly understood. Between that philosophy which maintains the agency of the heavens upon the earth, and the religion revealed to us in the Bible, there is a *relation*, which renders them *both* more credible. By a person with the Christian religion in his mind, this philosophy is more easily received; and if any one sees that this philosophy is true in nature, he will not long retain his objections against Christianity: but here is the difficulty; *he* will never begin, who resolves never to go on. But of any reasonable person, whose mind is still at liberty, let us ask, why it should be thought a thing incredible, that the creation of God should confirm the revelation of God? By which I would be understood to mean—that the world which we *see* should be a counterpart to the world of which we have *heard*, and in which we

believe? Many in this age see the force of that argument in favour of Christianity, which is drawn from the analogy between the kingdom of Nature and the kingdom of Grace, and admire it above all other things. Dr. Horne in particular had such an opinion of it, and conceived such hopes from it, that he used to say, and did say it late in life, that if Priestley should ever become a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity, it would be from the *Hutchinsonian philosophy.* To such a declaration as this, which the reader may depend upon, I can add nothing better, or more to the purpose, than a passage from one of his manuscripts, concerning the religious use that may be made of Mr. Hutchinson's writings; and I am persuaded he persevered, to the day of his death, in the opinion there delivered. The passage is as follows:

"Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a small treatise, intitled, *De ascensione mentis in Deum per scalas, rerum creatarum,* which he valued more than any of his works, and read it over continually with great pleasure, as he says in the preface to it. A work of that kind may be done in a far better and more complete manner, by the key Mr. Hutchinson has given, than has ever yet been done, and the natural and spiritual world made to tally in all particulars. Such a work would be of standing use and service to the Church, and be a key to Nature and the S S. teaching all men to draw the intended instruction from both. For this purpose, the S S. should be read over, and the texts classed under their respective heads; and in reading other books, all just applications of natural images should be extracted from them, particularly where there are any good divisions of an image into its parts and heads, as much will depend on method and regularity. For

the blessing of God on such an undertaking, without which all will be in vain, the Fountain of all wisdom and Father of lights is humbly and fervently to be implored, to enlighten the understanding, and purify the heart, that it may be counted worthy, through the merits of the dear Redeemer, to understand the mysteries of the new creation shadowed by the old, and explained in the S S. of eternal truth, and be enabled to declare it to the people unadulterated with any private imaginations, to the glory of God, the edification of the church, and his own salvation."

On the other hand, there are in this age philosophical opinions, in which infidelity triumphs: and certain it is they have too plain an affinity to the atheistical doctrines of Epicurus and Democritus, if they are not the same thing; and therefore such an evil-minded wit as Voltaire caught at them with eagerness. He foresaw how, with a little of his management, they might be turned against all religion, and lead to the abolition of all divine worship; he therefore strained every nerve to magnify and recommend them: his industry in this respect was wonderful; and we find, by fatal experience, how far it has answered his purpose. The philosophers of France have now seated themselves upon the clouds, from whence they look down with contempt upon every degree of Christian belief;—considering even Newton himself as an example of the weakness of human nature for believing the Scripture! Where will this end.

There is another report against the name of our good Bishop, which wants explanation. The learned adversary of the amiable Bishop Hurd, and of the Reverend Mr. Curtis of Birmingham, and the friend of Dr. Priestley, a judge of all men and of all things,

took occasion, soon after the death of Bishop Horne, to give us *his* character of him, in a note to a book he was then publishing; in which note many things are said well, and like a scholar: but there is one thing which, though well said, is not just to the Bishop's memory; who is there reported to have *diffused a colouring of elegance over the wild, but not unlovely, visions of enthusiasm* *. Where could the gentleman

* The *Socinian* notion of *enthusiasm* being a curiosity which deserves to be known, I shall give it to the reader in this place. I have a book before me, published by a Mr. E——n in the year 1772: a man, who seems no natural fool, but has made himself much worse than one through a conceit of superior Christian wisdom. He delivers it to us as a doctrine of the orthodox, that "if our belief were not attended with some *difficulties to our reason*, there would be no merit in our believing;" and then adds, "such men I shall not scruple to call enthusiasts; and to argue the case with them, would be trying to convince the poor straw-crowned monarch of Bethlehem—who is a king, because he *knows* he is a king." This gentleman tells his mind fairly and plainly; for which we are obliged to him: but now let us try by his rule, the faith of our Father Abraham. He believed in his old age, that his seed should be as the stars of heaven, from a wife that was barren; and this is the belief which was accounted to him for righteousness. Here the reason and experience of all mankind were contrary: against hope he believed in hope; here were not only *difficulties to reason*, but an actual impossibility to reason. The promise might have been given before, while Abraham was young: but it pleased God to defer it till he was old, when reason could not receive it: and from this circumstance only his faith was meritorious. No, says the Socinian; this man, by my rule, was an *enthusiast*, no more to be argued with than the *monarch of bedlam*, &c.

What the mind of that man can be made of, who receives the Scripture as the word of God, and denies that *faith* has merit in admitting what is attended with *difficulties to reason*, it is as hard for me to understand, as it is for him to receive the Articles of the Church of England; and yet, if he has spoken of himself truly, I cannot deny the fact: and as this man is but a pattern of other Socinians, I do suppose it to be the opinion of them all, that the proper act of *faith* in a Christian is an act of *enthusiasm*.

find these *wild visions?* In the State of the Case between Newton and Hutchinson, the author argues from the words of each, and confirms what he says by fact and reason. The whole is written with the utmost coolness of temper, and without once appealing to any ambiguous evidence. In his sermons his sense is strong, his language sweet and clear, his devotion warm, but never inflated nor affected: and, from the editions through which they pass, it is plain the world does see, and will probably see better every day, that they are not the discourses of a *varnisher of visions.* In his Commentary on the Psalms, he has followed the plan of the writers of the New Testament, and of the Primitive Church, in applying them as prophecies and delineations of the person of Christ and of the Christian œconomy. If he is judged to have betrayed any enthusiasm in *so* doing, it is only because he happened to write in the eighteenth century; when Christian learning, under the notion of improving it, is greatly corrupted; the Fathers of the Church but little known*, and less relished; and the zeal and piety of the Reformation very much abated. Erasmus was just such another enthusiast in his divinity as Dr. Horne; and is frequently found to have diffused a like colouring of elegance over like interpretations of the Scripture: in which, however, he is not always either so elegant, or so successful, as the late Bishop his follower: yet for this, in the days of better divinity,

* I was therefore pleased with a seasonable attempt to revive the reading of the Christian Fathers, by the Rev. Mr. Kett, in the Notes and Authorities subjoined to the second edition of his very useful and learned Bampton Lectures, p. iii. where he recommends to the Ecclesiastical Student a Selection from the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers. I could add other names and other pieces; but those he has mentioned are very sufficient.

when *faith* and *piety* were more in fashion, Erasmus was never reputed an enthusiast. A little warmth of *devotion* is very excusable in a Christian writer; and we apprehend that a very strong conviction of the wisdom and excellence of Christianity is necessary to the making of a good divine.—Ου δει μετριως κεκτημενον απτεσθαι.

When a man of learning censures without justice, he opens a door for the free remarks of others upon himself. But I search not into the gentleman's writings, for any examples of severity, scurrility, adulation, perplexity of principle, smoke and smother, pedantry and bombast: let others look for such things who take delight in finding them. For my own part, I would rather wish that my learned friend, when he is throwing his fine words about, would consider a little beforehand, how unworthy it may be found to attempt to lessen in any degree the good effect of such a character as that of Dr. Horne upon the Christian world, in its present declining condition and dangerous situation: and how much more it would be for his honour to use the eloquence he is master of, rather in promoting than in hindering its influence. He knows too much of the world to be ignorant, that in this age, when so many counterfeits are abroad, when some are so wild, and others so squeamish, no wound is so cruel upon a religious man, as the imputation of a wild enthusiastic fancy: a fault wantonly imputed by the vicious and the ignorant, to unexceptionable persons, only because they have a little more religion than themselves: and if such persons have made it their business, like Dr. Horne, to be deep in the Scripture, they will always be in danger from those who are not so. Heathens accused the first Christians of atheism and sacrilege, because they would not

worship idols; and abused them as haters of mankind, only because they avoided evil communications, and refused to be *conformed to this world.* Voltaire had no name for the Christian faith, but that of superstition or fanaticism. There is a very useful and judicious dissection of enthusiasm, by Dr. Horne himself, the best I ever met with, just published in a compilation by a society for a *Reformation of Principles,* which if gentlemen will condescend to examine, they may be better able to distinguish properly betwixt those who *are* enthusiasts and those who are *called* so.

All good men are walking by the same way to the same end. If there are any individuals, who by the shining of their light render the path more plain and pleasant, let us agree to make the most we can of them, and be *followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises.*

ON THE

USE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE,

IN A

LETTER TO THE HON. L. K.

BY W. J.

LETTER

ON THE

USE OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

NAYLAND, *Oct. 29th*, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

You will want little persuasion to the Study of the Hebrew Language, when you know how valuable it is in itself, and what help you will find from the use of it in your other studies: for it will be of service to you as a critic, a mythologist, an antiquarian, a philosopher, and a divine. If the Hebrew were the original language (which, however, is disputed, as all other things are) the different languages of the world must partake of it more or less; and consequently they may be traced up to it. Unless a scholar is able to do this he will be wanting in a very material part of his business; and, though I would not affront any man of learning, who is an able critic in Greek and Latin, as if he were a person of no knowledge, I am nevertheless very certain he would see much farther, and find great satisfaction, if the Hebrew were added to his other learning.

I must leave it to the compiler of the Lexicon to collect the various instances in which later languages may be traced up to this original: but I will give you

a few examples, to show how easily it may be done, and to tempt you to find others for yourself at a future time.

The word *Aurum*, Gold, is Latin; which can be traced up to no Latin original: but in Hebrew the word אור *Aur* expresses a kindred idea; it signifies *Light*, to which *Gold* is more nearly allied than any other substance, from its colour and its splendour; and, in the symbolical language of the chemists, *Gold* stands for the *Sun*. When we have once obtained a leading idea in Hebrew, it is pleasant to see how other words in abundance will fall in with it: for hence we have the word *Aurora*, for the light of the morning; *Horus*, a name of the sun with the Egyptians; *Orion*, the bright constellation, the brightest in the heavens; ωρα and ωραιος, beautiful; because the light is the most beautiful of all things; ουρανος, the heaven; and many others. So simple is the Hebrew, and so perfect in its construction, that even light itself is not an *original* sense; for אור is from אר, a biliteral root, which signifies *to flow*; light being in perpetual flux, and the most perfect of all fluids; perhaps the only *absolute* fluid in nature.

Nothing is more common than for large families of words to arrange themselves under some simple root in the Hebrew. Thus the words *fruit*, *fertilis*, *fructus*, *fero*, in Latin, φερο in Greek, *Freya* the Northern goddess of fertility (whence our *Fryday*) all come from the Hebrew פרה FeRA, to *bear fruit*. Even in the English tongue, where you would little suspect it, the Hebrew word will account for the English. What is the word *Sweat* but the זעת *Zet* of the Hebrew? *Cypher* in English, is ספר SePheR in Hebrew: *Dumb* in English, is דום *to be still*: *Shiver* in English, is in Hebrew שבר Sheber or Shever, to *break* in pieces;

Hush, be still, is from השה HaSHaH, to be silent: *Track* is from the Hebrew דרך DRaCH, a *way*, which in Arabic is *taracq*: *Earth* is from ארץ AReTZ or EReTZ, a word of the same sense. *Is* in English, and εστι in Greek, and *esse* and *est* in Latin are all from the Hebrew יש *Substance*: *Shed* is from the Hebrew שד, to pour out. In Latin words, which have no affinity with any other word, the like agreement is frequently discovered with the Hebrew. The word *Olim*, hereafter, or long ago, is not a word of a Latin form, but is the same with עלם Olem *an age*, *ever*, &c. Thus in Greek the word χιτων tunica, admits of no Greek derivation, but כתן CheTeN in Hebrew has the same sense.

In multitudes of Greek words, where the Lexicons force an etymology upon them, their deduction from the Hebrew is evident and natural. In their mythology nothing is more common than for the Greeks to use terms of which their own language knows nothing. Their religion was more ancient than themselves; and so has many names which their own language was not ancient enough to interpret; though they often attempt it in an absurd and ridiculous manner. What can we make of the word Σειρηνες, *Sirens*, first mentioned by Homer, as Nymphs that enchant and destroy men with their *singing*? The Lexicons derive it from σειρα a chain, which is nonsense; but go to the Hebrew, and you find that שיר SYeR is *a Song*, and will therefore very naturally give a name to *Singers*.

Mulciber, one of the names of Vulcan, the god of fire (the same in character with the *Moloch* of the East) which the Latins account for from *mulcendo ferrum*, because they will needs have it from their own language: but it is such Latin as never was used; and besides, *f* never changes into *b*, in the syllable *ber*, but

the change is the contrary way. All is plain enough, if we go back to the original Vulcan, which is *Moloch;* for then the word *Mulciber* becomes מלך Melech אביר Abir, the Mighty King, which is Moloch. All the deities, which are many, whose names give them an alliance with Moloch, are from the Hebrew *Melech*, a king; such as *Adramelech, Anamelech, Milcom, Milicus,* &c. *Melicartus,* the Tyrian Hercules, is of no sense in Greek or Latin; but in the Hebrew it resolves itself into מלך ארץ *Melech Aretz,* King of the Earth.

Saturnus, the god Saturn, and the *Satyri* of the woods, are names to which the Latin can give no interpretation: but if *Saturn,* according to his physical character, be taken for that secret *first matter* of Nature, out of which all *forms* arise, and into which they are again resolved; and if *Satyrs* are considered as beings hiding themselves in woods and mountains; then they are all accounted for from the Hebrew סתר SaTaR, to hide: and even the discourse called a *Satire,* in which the meaning is always obscure and hidden, is best derived from the same word סתר SaTaR, to hide; as I remember I once mentioned to Dr. Johnson, and he affirmed the derivation to be right. Near of kin to this is the Egyptian *Isis,* the first matter of the world, from the Hebrew יש, *substance.* This first matter is concealed under the *forms* or species of things, and never to be discovered as it is in itself; to signify which the image of Isis had a *veil* on.

They, who have no practice in the pursuit of etymologies, will hardly believe with what reason and certainty a derivation may be hunted down, which at first sight appears very wild and remote.—אש, *Ash* or *Esh,* in Hebrew signifies *burning fire* (whence our word *ashes*). Now it seems rash to say that the Latin *Vesta*

is from the Hebrew *Ash*; but it is plainly so: for from the original *Ash* is the dialectical Chaldee אשתא *Ashta*, whence the Greek Εστια, and thence (with the soft *F* prefixed, as in *vinum* from οινος) is the Latin *Vesta*.

In accounting for customs which we find in antiquity, we shall often be much at a loss, unless we are prepared to have recourse to the Hebrew. When you read in Xenophon, that the *war-shout* or signal for battle was ελελευ, this word being not Greek, you may take it for an unmeaning barbarous outcry, like the *war-whoop* among the American Indians: but it is no other than the ancient Hebrew acclamation *Hallelu*, so often repeated in songs of praise. It is also written αλαλευ; and was probably the customary acclamation for mutual encouragement in the wars of the Hebrews with the Heathen nations of Canaan; from whom the later Heathens took it.

The *Phœnicians* spoke very nearly the same language with the Hebrews; and Virgil acted with judgment in giving Phœnician names to Phœnician people in his poem. The name *Dido* is the *beloved one*, from the same root with דוד DUD or *David*; her other name, *Elissa*, is one of the Hebrew names of the New Testament; and her sister *Anna*, is the Hebrew *Hannah* of the Scripture. In Sallust, &c. the famous name of *Hannibal* is Hebrew, and signifies *Gracious Lord*, or *my gracious Lord*: *Hiempsal* is ימשל Imeshal, *he shall reign*, or *be a Ruler*; and there are other like names which can only be interpreted in the same way. In one of the plays of Plautus (the *Pœnulus*) a Carthaginian is brought upon the stage, as we should bring a Frenchman, to laugh at his broken English. The language he is there made to speak was taken for unmeaning gibberish; till *Bochart* was able, by a

most happy stroke of criticism, to interpret it throughout, from the affinity of the Carthaginian to the Hebrew. As the antiquity which is most remote brings us nearer to the time when all men spoke some dialect of the Hebrew, it is impossible to interpret the ancient names of persons and people, but from a familiarity with the Hebrew. The Greeks derived themselves from a most ancient ancestor by the name of *Japetus*: and who can he be, but their real ancestor *Japhet*? Their *Letters* were derived to them from the East; and the tradition is preserved under the fabulous person of *Cadmus*; which is from קדום Cadom, the *East*, or, *a man of the East*. Every body knows there was such a city as Babylon; but the Hebrew reader only knows it had its original from the word *Babel*, which being interpreted means *in confusion*, because language was there first confounded: and, to this day, a man that talks unintelligibly or nonsensically, is said in English to *babble*.

In Divinity it often happens, in particular cases, that you cannot so well judge what is right or what is wrong, nor detect the perverse glosses of wanton or evil-minded critics, unless you are well enough acquainted with the Hebrew to use some critical judgment in it: of which Mr. Parkhurst's pamphlet against Priestley is a remarkable instance, and opens a mine of evidence, which that juggler knows not what to make of. We live in an age fond of novelty; when literary adventurers are rather too free and bold in their experiments upon the Sacred Text. Dr. Kennicott promised great things, and raised the expectations of the public. His pretensions were examined and disputed by some persons who were learned in the Hebrew; and we narrowly escaped the danger of a new text and new version. On any future occasion

of the same kind, the like danger may not be escaped, if the Hebrew language, and its scholastic history, should be neglected.

When we consult Mr. Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, it is pleasant to see how many passages of Scripture are illustrated; how many difficulties cleared up by the author: and whoever follows his examples, will soon discover how much his prospects are enlarged when he studies the Bible in the original. He that should read the New Testament in the Greek, and be under the necessity of taking all his knowledge of it from the Latin of the Vulgate, would be thought very deficient in his learning; and the case is parallel, if, in the interpretation of the Old Testament, we are unable to compare the Greek version of the Septuagint with the original Hebrew; which it is often necessary to do. Many discoveries arise, if this comparison is faithfully made: among other things it appears, from the different manner in which the Greek Translators have pronounced many proper names, that they did not translate from a copy with the present Vowel Points *, such as are used by the Jews; against whom we are to provide ourselves with weapons, as against the most dangerous enemies of the Gospel: and who, but a *Hebrew Christian*, can be a

* The *Hexapla* of Origen is a work to which I have at present no access; but I set down what I suppose to be a faithful account of it. He gives the Hebrew Text in Greek letters: wherein he "uniformly expresses what the Masorites call the quiescent letters, the *Alep*, *He*, *Vau*, and *Jod*, by *Vowels*; but so variously, that it is clear he considered it to be a matter of indifference by what vowel he should denote them. He always treats the *Ain* and *Heth* as vowels: and, when two consonants occur, he seems to have considered it optional, what vowel he should admit between them. All this is diametrically opposite to the system of the Masorites." Horæ Biblicæ, p. 77.

match for them in their own way? In the New Testament there is a sort of Greek, which cannot be reconciled with ordinary Greek authors: because there is a frequent use of such forms of language (we call them *Idioms*) as are transferred to the Greek from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and which cannot otherwise be accounted for.

But now, lastly, I recommend the Hebrew chiefly on this consideration; because the language is *in itself* instructive; its words give us light into *things*, in a manner different from those of any other language in the world: and this, beyond all other arguments, convinces me of its divine original. I will give you some examples.—The word *clothe*, in Latin *vestio*, in Greek ενδυω, gives us no instruction; but the Hebrew לבש LeBeSH *to clothe*, comprehends the idea of בש BeSH *Shame*, (whence the English *bashful* and *abash*) and, with ל prefixed, it is *for*, or on account of *shame*: so the *term* not only stands for the *thing*, as in other languages, but gives us the *reason* of the thing; it refers us to the *moral* history and origin of clothing; and all this in three letters.

The English word *hail*, in Latin *grando*, in Greek χαλαζα, gives us no information about the nature of the thing: but, if we take the word ברד BeReD in Hebrew, as we took LeBeSH, it resolves itself into ב—רד, which signifies *in descensu*, and so describes to us the physiological formation of hail; which, as philosophers agree, is first formed into drops of rain, and, *as it falls*, is frozen into hail *.

* When a Gentleman very learned in the Hebrew saw this account of ברד, he observed upon it that ביץ an Egg was such another word compounded of ב and יצא; for it is remarkable in the physiology of the egg, that the shell acquires its hardness *in exitu*, as it comes forth.

In roots of the Hebrew language, which consist mostly of two letters, some idea is taken from nature; and the word, with some new modification, is carried on, and applied to other objects; and, if there were no other argument, this alone would convince me that the Hebrew, from the simple fabrication of its terms, is not only the first of languages, but of a construction beyond the invention of human wisdom. Thus, for example, the word צלם Tzelem signifies an *image:* but why so? because צל Tzel is a *shadow*, the first of images, such as nature itself makes: the light of the sun forms it naturally, and presents it to the sight of man. In many words, two ideas are comprehended, because they are found together in nature. It is impossible for us, in many cases, from our imperfect knowledge of things, to account for and reconcile the kindred senses of Hebrew words; but in many the reason of them is too plain to be contradicted. The word ראש RASH signifies the *Head* and it signifies *Poison;* and the relation appears in nature, which has placed the most deadly of *poisons* in the *head* of the Serpent: a creature of great signification in Hebrew doctrine. I do not see that this reason is assigned by the learned Mr. Parkhurst; but I find it in *Marius—Sunt qui dicunt sic appellari, eo quod venenum sit in capite aspidis.*

The same word which signifies the *hoar-frost* signifies to *cover;* because the hoar-frost is a sudden and universal covering spread over the face of the ground. The word also signifies an *atonement;* by which, as it appears from several passages of the Scripture, either the face of the person offended is understood to be covered, so that he no longer looks upon the offence; or the sin itself is so covered that it can no longer be seen, and even assumes a new appearance from the

nature and quality of the covering; just as the face of the earth becomes white and pure when the hoar-frost is upon it: which conveys a very beautiful and pleasant idea of atonement and propitiation. All this is expressed by the word כפר CaPHaR; whence is plainly derived our English word *cover*. This term admits of an accident, which may seem to contradict our system of *kindred ideas*, but does really confirm it. The word which signifies hoar-frost does also signify *pitch;* the one as white as snow, the other as black as a coal: but the leading idea of *covering* is still preserved, for pitch is the most effectual covering in the world to keep out water and weather. In *Gen.* vi. 14, it is applied to the covering of Noah's ark; and the reader will find that the *pitch* and the *covering* are both expressed by the same word.

גל GaL is a root which, as a verb, signifies to *roll round*, or circulate; and, as a noun, any *round thing*. Hence it signifies to *dance;* because the motions of the dance were circular, to imitate the motions of the heavenly bodies. It signifies also to be *glad;* because gladness is that way expressed. And likewise a *wheel*, from its form and its *revolution;* and particularly the watering wheel of the East, which yields its water by a circulation: Solomon is supposed to have used this term in that famous allegory of Eccles. xii. with an allusion to the circulation of the blood in the human body, which ceases in death: the passage is well worth considering. Hence also we have a name for the human *skull* *, from the roundness of its figure; and also for the *thistle down*, or winged seed, because it is a light round body, and has a rotation as it rolls along before the wind. And I may add, what is as curious

* Hence the word *Golgotha* in the New Testament.

as any thing, that the root in question gives us the word גלם GeLeM, which signifies the human fœtus or embryo; and with philosophical propriety, because in that the body is rolled up or folded together. From *Gelem* comes the word *glomus* a ball of thread, and *glomero* to wind about or gather together.

How simple is the construction of that language, which, beginning with the preposition על OL, *upon* or *over*, adds another letter, and turns it into a verb, עלה *OLaH*, to ascend; which, becoming a noun, signifies a *burnt-offering*; teaching us to consider it as an *ascension*, because the smoke and flame of it goes up towards heaven, which cannot happen unless it is consumed by fire; on which much might be said! The barbarous people of Madagascar have a sacrifice which they call an *Owley*; retaining the very word of the Mosaic law. From the same root we have a word for the *wild goat* of the mountains, from its climbing upwards; also for the *leaf of a tree*, from its superior situation; whence, with the *f*, or digamma prefixed, we have the Latin *folium*. It furnishes us also with a word for *stairs*, because people ascend by them; and for a *lord* or ruler, because he is *over* others: in alliance with which we have one of the names of God, עליון *Olion*, because he is *over all*; and it is rendered by the word *Altissimus* in Latin, in English the *Most High*.

Compare this set of words with one another in Latin, and you will find neither root, branch, nor relation among them. *Super* has no alliance with *scando*; nor *scando* with *gradus*; nor *gradus* with *folium*; nor *folium* with *altus*; nor *altus* with *rupicapra*: every word, when compared with the rest, is an unrelated individual; and the case would be found the same in the Greek, or any other language of more modern use

and invention: so that when I view the Hebrew language, such as I have now represented it to you, (in too small a compass for the greatness of the subject) I am persuaded it must either have been originally given to man by his Creator; or framed by men, the powers of whose minds were very different from our own.

But give me leave to forewarn you, that caution is to be used, and great experience is requisite in order to handle the Hebrew with safety; otherwise you may chance to make that ridiculous, which you intend to magnify. For want of knowing better, we may give *the lead* to a *wrong idea*; that which is not the radical one; and then we shall be forced upon strange and unnatural alliances; and, from our imperfect insight into many things, we may not be able to discover that there is any leading idea at all. It is natural to follow with too much assurance the alluring pursuits of *etymology*; and, if we are found to do it without temperance or discretion, we shall find no mercy from those who are not well affected to the originalities of learning and religion; who may therefore treat us with a smile, meaning it for the smile of superior wisdom: but folly and ignorance are more given to smile than wisdom and science.

I have said enough to convince you, that the study of Hebrew, if you use it properly, will abundantly repay your labour; that it is even necessary and essential, if you would be, what I may call (to speak after the Hebrew style) a *radical* scholar, and see into the originals of things both sacred and profane: that it is related to itself by associations and images, not merely curious, but often very beautiful and instructive: in short, that it communicates knowledge of the best kind under a singular form, no where else to be

met with. I could have multiplied my examples in abundance; for there was a time of my life when I sat for half a year together to compare the Hebrew language with itself in every word of it (so far as it is retained and preserved) and I have loved and admired it ever since. You will do the same, if you take half as much pains as I did; and for your encouragement, you will have an advantage which I had not; later years having produced that excellent work, the Lexicon Hebrew and English of Mr. Parkhurst; who has made it a magazine of general learning, antiquity, divinity, and natural history; and has illustrated his Hebrew literature from the Greek and Roman classics, and from useful authors, ancient and modern, of every denomination.

In the modern Hebrew learning, you have another advantage, and a great one it is; that you are taken out of the hands of the *Jews;* who begin their teaching with the egregious absurdity of an alphabet without vowels to make way for their Hebrew points, which are a modern invention, and overburthen you with an insupportable multiplicity of rules. Their notions of the Hebrew are much of a size with their sense of divinity. That noble instrument of wisdom in their hands, is like an instrument of astronomy in the hands of a child, or like a telescope with the blind. Trust yourself to Mr. Parkhurst, a good *Christian,* and he will take you by the hand at the first step, and carry you as far as you will wish to go in CHRISTIAN HEBREW. That your success may be such as I augurate from a foreknowledge of your capacity and application, is the sincere wish of,

Dear Sir,
Your affectionate friend,
and obedient, humble servant,
W. JONES.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

RELIGIOUS WORSHIP OF THE HEATHENS,

AS BEARING UNANSWERABLE TESTIMONY

TO THE

PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY.

IN A

LETTER

TO THE

REV. W. VINCENT, D.D.

HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER-SCHOOL.

CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

REVERENDSIR,

I HAVE a great subject before me of which I believe there is no better judge in this kingdom than yourself: and I have good reason to suppose, from your sincere attachment to the Christian Religion, that you are as much interested as myself in the use I am about to make of it.

From the common forms of school-education, our youth are in danger of returning back from the purity of Christians to the impure manners of Heathens; a very afflicting example of which once fell under my own observation. An amiable youth, of the first fashion, was found to have kept loose company very early in life; from which every bad consequence was to be apprehended. So far there is no rarity in the case: you must have heard many of them: and I should not mention it to you, but for the observation made upon it by his father, which struck me to the heart; and I determined never to forget it all the days of my life. He accounted for the evil in the following manner: that his son having been accustomed at school to the loose ideas, communicated by Horace and other Heathen poets, had carried their principles into his own practice; and was therefore only in a train with other young men of his age and

education. Good God! said I to myself, is this the case? and are we asleep about it? Do we sit still, and see Christians, under the light of the Gospel, sinking into worse than heathen corruption? This led me to consider, whether it be not possible to turn this evil into some good, by showing young men of learning, that, as the false religion of Heathens was borrowed from the true religion of Revelation, and is a witness to its authority, it ought rather to confirm us in the truth than draw us into evil. I thought, if this could be shown, something might be done toward the preservation of our youth, without breaking in upon the established forms of education: that the attempt would be laudable, and merit the thanks of parents, who see this matter in a proper light; that no learned teachers, if Christian, could be offended; and that, at all events, he that should give notice of the evil, might deliver his own soul by it.

With these thoughts in my head, I sat down to examine the true state of the case: and to you, Sir, or any other gentleman who has gone over the common ground of classical erudition, there will be no difficulty in showing, not barely that the true Religion and the false have a resemblance in many particulars; but that the resemblance is wonderful and striking, in such a manner as will make the one a proof of the other; and I am convinced others must have been struck by it as I am. The Religion of the Divine Law comprehends the institutions of Priesthood, Sacrifice, Atonement, Purification, Prayers and Supplications. It gives us the history of Divine judgments, miraculous interpositions, sacred commemorations, and communications between God and Man. These are the doctrines which distinguish the Religion of the Bible; and we meet with them all in the Religion of

the Heathens. For in the first place, Heathens had priests. A priest is one of the first remarkable persons we meet with in the Iliad of Homer: and he appears under a very respectable character. He is not a minister appointed by the people: that absurdity was not then thought of. He is under the appointment and protection of a Deity; he wears the insignia of his power; and is seconded in a miraculous way by his interposition. The character is not given to him by halves. No Heathens were what we now call Low Churchmen: they carried things to such a height on the contrary part, that I wonder Infidels do not burn their books for teaching Tory principles, and bearing such testimony against themselves.

Now let any man ask himself the question—How Heathens ever came to think of such a thing as a priest? a minister appointed by Heaven, to officiate between God and Man in holy things? I say in holy things; for this is the reason of the name both in Greek and Latin. Ἱερεὺς is from Ἱερὸς, *sacred;* and *sacerdos* in Latin from *sacer*. They never would, they never could, have thought of this, unless a priest had been first appointed by the true God. We go back to the times, when all the earth was of one religion: from which times, the Heathens began to carry off what we find amongst them. The fact is in no other way to be accounted for. Did nature ever invent a priest? The men of Nature, the Deists abhor the idea: they are gentlemen who can do every thing for themselves: they even look upon a Bishop at this day, not as an object of reverence, but of scorn and mockery; and call his ministry juggling and conjuring. In bringing things to this pass, Infidels have acted very unfairly: and indeed no man who knows them would expect any honesty from them. They have taken advantage of

the forms and fopperies of Popery; as if Christianity had been nothing till the Papists had spoilt it. What would Voltaire have done, if he could not have played on Popish abuses, to make the character of a priest ridiculous? But if he had lived in other times, and had argued against the Heathen priests as he did against the Christians, the Heathens would have put him to death: perhaps they would have flayed him alive: they would not have crowned him with roses, and set up his image in their temples. They were mad enough in many things; but not so mad as that. Such acts were reserved for the time when Christians should run mad.

The case is then plain concerning the origin of priesthood. It must have come either from God, or from Nature, or from Tradition. From Nature it could not come; not a Deist in the nation will pretend it. If it came from tradition, that tradition must have had some true original; and this is but another way of saying that it came from God.

What we say of priesthood, we must say of sacrifice: they are relative terms: and one is nothing without the other: for in the one we have the minister, and in the other the ministry. And here we shall ask the same question as before. Did Nature think of sacrifice as a duty? Never. She pronounces it to be folly.

——————— moritur cur victima pro te?
Stultitia est.

Is it possible for reason to conclude, that the Creator can be pleased with the destruction of his creatures? Can a guilty person become less guilty by adding one offence to another? Here some consideration must be admitted, which does violence to natural reason: and this is, the doctrine of man's fall into a sin-

ful state: for without this the whole is an absurdity: it is an effect without a cause. To suppose sacrifice is to suppose sin: and the heathen practice bears universal testimony to it: so that our Infidels have another reason for burning their heathen books. I grant that, when the Heathens themselves reasoned about it, they said many foolish things; nevertheless, the fact is what I insist upon. Some of them thought that animals were offered in sacrifice on a principle of revenge, because they did mischief. This might be a reason for killing them, but no reason for offering them to God by a religious act. The question still recurs, how came they to imagine that this could be an act of devotion, acceptable to God? Is the Creator revengeful, because we are so? Is he spiteful to poor creatures for being such as he made them? Yet in this foolish manner did some of them argue, when they had lost the primary intention: they then thought this to be the original:

——————— Prima putatur
Hostia sus meruisse mori, quia semina pando
Eruerit rostro, spemque interceperit anni. Ovid, lib. xv.

But then they perceived, that not the most hurtful, but the most harmless creatures were chiefly condemned to this use; which, being contrary to the other practice, makes it senseless and absurd.

Victima labe carens, et præstantissima formâ,
(Nam placuisse nocet).

This reason is in point against the other: for here the victim is to be the most perfect of an harmless kind:

Quid meruere boves? animal sine fraude dolisque:—
Quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus, &c.

When people talk and give reasons in ignorance, they are sure to betray themselves by talking incon-

sistently. The latter distinction, of which we speak, is agreeable to the Divine Law, and leads to the doctrine of atonement: a victim *without spot or blemish* was required, with great propriety. When Heathens offered unclean animals, such as dogs and swine, I am not clear whether they meant it as an affront to the Mosaic distinction, or whether they judged impure victims more acceptable to their impure deities. How deplorable does human reason appear, when it departs from the true God! departs from the true God into darkness, and then falls to giving its reasons! Here the wise man makes a worse figure than the idiot. The Christian, who looks with his eyes open into the regions of Heathenism, will often shake his head with pity, as a sober man when he looks into Bedlam. The more the Heathens were in the dark about this affair, so much the better for my plan: for, if they practised what they did not understand, it is evident, that the practice was not the result of any reasoning of their own, but that it was received from authority. The more we reflect on this, the more we shall be persuaded of it: for nothing but authority will make a wise man practise what he does not understand: and, if it came from authority, that brings us at once to the point I am aiming at.

Sacrifices, according to the Scripture, were used in different capacities; as expiations, purifications, and preparatives to divine inspiration*: To *expiate* is to do away sin by an act of piety.; the great act of piety, the offering of a sacrifice; from whence piety takes its name: and it was never thought, from the days of Cain and Abel, that there could be such a thing as

* They were used, as we shall see, under the same capacities among the Heathens.

piety to God without sacrifice. And the same holds good to this day. He that does not offer to God some sacrifice, is not *pious*, but *impious*; his prayers are an abomination. But how could such a persuasion enter the heart of man, otherwise than by Revelation from God? No man could think that the shedding of innocent blood would take away sin, unless he had been originally told so on unexceptionable authority*; so that the very existence of such a thing in the world is sufficient to prove that it came from Revelation: and divines think with good reason that it came in with the first promise in paradise—"the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head."

Sacrifices had also the name of purifications with the Heathens: they were called καθάρματα, because they took away the foulness of guilt, and purged the conscience from the sense of sin. But, besides this, they were certainly used as preparatives to divine inspiration. Balaam offered seven bullocks and seven rams before he began his prophecy. And it is remarkable, that the priestess in Virgil, before she prophesies, prescribes the same animals, and in the same number.

Nunc grege de intacto septem mactare juvencos
Præstiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentes. Lib. vi. 38.

The coincidence is here very remarkable, and must have been derived from the highest antiquity.

But the false priests resembled the true in another part of their office, beside that of offering sacrifice. A priest was not only called Ἱερεὺς, from his being concerned in holy offerings; he was also called

* They never would have injured themselves so much in their *property* as to offer sacrifice, more especially when they offered hecatombs at once.

ἀρητῆρ, an intercessor, παρὰ τὸ ἀρᾶσθαι, ὃ ἐστιν εὔχεσθαι, from his offering prayers in behalf of the people: and it was accounted a great offence for the people to dishonour their intercessor; and Homer tells us how the Greeks suffered for it.

Ablutions or baptisms were prescribed, in the Divine Law, as necessary to wash away the impurity contracted by offending against it: particularly in the case of those who touched the body of the slain: and even to this day washing with water is the outward sign of the washing away of sin*: and it was necessary that the water used for sacred purposes should be living water; that is, not stagnant, but running water. These ablutions were common among the Heathens, and the water was of the same sort applied on various occasions. In the case of Æneas, we have nearly the whole doctrine. Having been defiled among the slain, he declares himself unfit to meddle with holy things, till he had washed his body with living water,

> ——————— Donec me flumine vivo
> Abluero †.

The articles of wine, flour, cakes, oil, honey, incense, salt, were all used by Heathens as in the law of Moses: insomuch that I heard it once observed by a learned man, to whom I looked up for much information when I was young, that even Homer alone, in the circumstantials of sacrifice, would nearly

* Pilate, an Heathen, washed his hands, to signify that his conscience was clear of guilt.

† The same occurs in Homer.

> Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διῒ λείβειν ἄιθοπα οἶνον
> Ἄζομαι· οὐδέ πῃ ἐστι κελαινεφέι Κρονίωνι
> Αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον εὐχετάασθαι. ζ. 167.

furnish us with the particulars of the Levitical ritual.

But it is time now to consider, that the rites of worship require a place wherein they are to be performed. In this place the Scripture was called the tabernacle or temple, into which it was commanded that offerings of every kind should be brought. The Heathens also had their temples, and they were almost as numerous as their deities. In these their sacrifices were offered; and I suppose Ἱερεῖον, a victim, to have been so called from Ἱερὸν, a temple: because it was the chief offering made in that place. They affected a division in their temples similar to that of the Jewish temple; as that had a secret place called the Holy of Holies, so had they their adyta, with tripods and cortynæ, and other furniture, where the oracles were delivered. As to the oracles themselves, I care not what they were: they might be false in their matter, or false in their author; all I say is this, that there never would have been a false oracle, unless there had been a true one. And the same may be said of dreams; which was another mode of divine revelation; and another name for a prophet was a dreamer of dreams. The same character we find in Homer*, on occasion of the Greeks desiring to know the reason why they were visited with a plague.

Ἀλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ἢ ἱέρῆα
Ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον (καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν).

I might collect many other circumstantials relating to offerings, purifications, and ablutions; but what I have mentioned seem to me of principal consideration.

* And under both the names of μάντις ὀνειροπόλος.

But there is one custom of very high antiquity, which ought not to be forgotten. We read that the Father of the Faithful offered to Melchizedech, as the priest of God, the tenths of the spoils he had taken in war. This we find to have been the practice with Heathens *; who also paid tenths to their kings, for religious uses. Florus tells us, that the Romans sent the tenths of the spoils they had taken, after a ten years' siege, to Apollo Pythius. Lib. i. cap. 12.

As we read of many signal judgments in the Scriptures; so there was an universal opinion, that the Gods visited the sins of men, and had been known to have done it personally. But, instead of searching for particulars, I shall speak of one instance, which might stand for all the rest; and this is the destruction of the world by a flood. The testimony of Ovid is so well known, that it need not be repeated; but the fact is attested by the Greeks as well as the Latins. They relate, that the present race of wicked men are not the first that were upon earth; for that there were a former race, who all perished; and that the present race came from Deucalion, a man who survived the flood, by entering into an ark with his family, and all kinds of living creatures, none of which hurt him: that this fact was annually commemorated at the temple of Juno, in Syria, a temple said to have been originally built in commemoration of the flood. All this may be found in Lucian's Treatise *de Dea Syria*, quoted by Grotius, lib. i. 16. Mr. Bryant has taken great pains to show, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, what foundation the Arkite ceremonies of the Heathens had in Divine Revelation. For this he has met with his due praise: but it is much to be regretted, that when he

* Josephus gives many examples from Heathens in his Antiquities.

had so fair an opportunity, he did not also show, that other ceremonies of their religious worship had the same foundation, and bore their testimony to the same authority. I believe it may be said with truth, that there never was a single rite in general use among Heathens which was not founded in Revelation *. Mr. Bryant would then have done what the learned Dr. Spencer ought to have done when he did exactly the contrary. He preposterously deduced the rites of the Hebrews from the rites of the Heathens; and so produced a work of learned appearance, and composed in elegant Latin, but disgraceful to Christian Divinity, dishonourable to the Church of England, and affording a very bad example to vain scholars who should succeed him. The Hebrew rites, he contends, were derived from the Heathen rites. But this position laid him under an obligation which he did not foresee: for the Heathen religion, like that of the Hebrews, abounded also with *miracles*. Did the Hebrews derive their miracles also from the miracles of the Heathens? This one question, to my apprehension, makes nonsense of his whole scheme. The true Religion had its miracles. Its miracles were the credentials of its doctrines. Those who professed that religion believed and knew them to be true, because their eyes had seen them. This their Heathen enemies knew; and, resolving not to be behind them, overacted the part, and multiplied miracles to such a degree, that they became fulsome and ridiculous: and here we shall find the true reason why they so universally hated the nation of the Jews. When a man is a plagiary, he either hides the original out of which he borrows, or represents it as worthless and contemptible. When

* And so far as their rites differed, they were corruptions; as when they offered unclean animals in sacrifice.

boys are taught to read Heathen historians, they find so much of this miracle-making, that they wonder not at it. But it is a wonderful thing; and they should stop to think about it: for how came Heathens to dream of such things as miracles? No man could dream of a thunder-storm, unless he had heard one. The reason of an Infidel, in these days, tells him there can be no such thing as a miracle. But the man who says this, must give us a reason why they were so universally received among the Heathens. Dr. Middleton would reason *upwards*, from the legendary miracles of the Papists, to the Apostolical miracles of Christianity, and conclude them all legendary: but we will reason *down* to them, and make the false prove the true; for the false would never have existed, but for the true, which made way for them.

Is any man so weak as to think, that base money came into use before true money? That the shadow was made first, and the substance afterwards? Ridiculous! Heathens knew that there had been true miracles wrought by the true God for his people; therefore they never questioned the reality of miracles—they knew too well—and feeling it a defect and disgrace to them, that they had no miracles of their own to support them, they fabricated them in such abundance, that the Heathen Celsus impudently argued, that the miracles of the Scripture were borrowed from the miracles of their mythology. But what can our poor modern Infidel say? The weight of the evidence, profane and sacred, for the existence of miracles, is so great on both sides, that between them he is crushed to death: his scheme cannot last a moment. If the philosopher Hume's arguments against miracles had then been produced, they would have made a wretched figure; though Christians may be so bewitched as to

listen to them, the Heathens themselves would have cast them out. This is a strange case, and it shows us that no man can rightly judge of the enemies of God, till he compares them with one another; and then he will see how senseless they are. Truth being one, the friends of God are alike in all ages: but error being various, and never able to fix its foot any where, produces nothing but inconsistent characters. *When all the kings west of Jordan, and all the Canaanites, heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over, then their heart melted; neither was there spirit in them any more.* Thus it was then; now, indeed, the time is remote, the thing is pronounced impossible, and the fact itself is denied: but Mr. Leslie's argument sets all that to rights. The Heathens of Canaan knew that there was a power which wrought true miracles for the people of God; and the corresponding society of Heathens would communicate it to one another, and never forget it afterwards: the report went down to their posterities; and nothing remained, but to make as many miracles as they could of their own, in order to maintain the credit of their false deities *; and their universal practice is a demonstration of miracles that were true. Every boy that reads Livy, or Florus, or Homer, or Virgil, will see how universally miracles were admitted among the Heathens. What they were I care not: I am contented with knowing that there never was a shadow without a substance; and that there is not an Infidel upon earth who can speak sense upon this subject. How far Satan might sometimes interfere, to make Heathen

* Cadmus very likely brought a great deal of this knowledge into Greece.

prodigies real, I do not inquire now: because the Infidel will not choose to come off that way. The supposition would be fatal: for then the Devil, who deluded Heathens, may delude him. There was a time when he deceived the world, by showing himself openly: for God then showed himself openly; but the same end is answered now by hiding himself: though his works betray him to Christians, and ever will, as effectually as if they saw him acting in person.

If the Bible describes or predicts the appearance of divine persons upon earth, say not the Heathens the same? We are stunned with the exploits of the sons of their Gods and Goddesses. Achilles, the hero of Homer, is like the HERO first predicted in the book of Genesis, vulnerable only in the heel. If we read that heavenly beings are visible to some and not to others, we find the like in Homer, as when Minerva comes to Achilles from Heaven:

Οἳῳ φαινομένη, τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν οὔτις ὁρᾶτο.

She appears to him alone, while nobody else could see her. See Daniel, x. 7.

If we read of beasts speaking with human voice, we find the same in Virgil *:

——————pecudesque locutæ.

In short, there is scarcely a sign or a wonder recorded in the Bible, but we find something of the same sort in the history which the Heathens give of themselves, and their gods; even to the restoring the dead to life; it being told of Jupiter, that he restored

* Some of these things I noted long ago, in *Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils.*

Pelops, who had been slaughtered by his father. It seems more remarkable that they should borrow the wonders of the sacred History, than that they should use the same ceremonies in their religion: for, when they undertook to set up a religion against God, they found themselves baffled and discomfited in their first attempt; they had nothing to begin with, and so were under the necessity of taking such rites as they found, and changing the application of them to false objects, to make it answer their wicked purpose. Thus it came to pass, that although they abhorred the Jews for denying their gods, they all used the same rites of divine worship: which is a prodigious fact; but we are so early accustomed to it, that it does not strike us.

But I think we may go a step farther: for, though it may seem strange to say it, yet learned men have thought, with good reason, that even the false objects which the Heathens worshipped were taken from Revelation; for God, being an invisible spirit, could never be known to men from the beginning of the world, but through the emblematic visible powers of nature; particularly by the power of fire, which attended his presence in Egypt, at the burning bush, then in the Red Sea, and afterwards at Mount Horeb, when the law was delivered. All this while, the Spirit of God, thus represented, was invisible; consequently an object of faith. This they lost, having their reasons for not retaining it in their minds, and took the visible fire of Nature for the true object, when it was nothing but the figure. Mr. Bryant, in his *History of Mythology*, shows abundantly, that fire was the first and great object of ancient idolatry all over the world: and the fire of the natural world being the Sun, they made him the standing object of adoration.

And Macrobius, a very learned Heathen, has a long chapter, in which he attempts (but overstrains the point) to reduce all the gods of Heathenism to the Sun, which the Scripture itself uses as an emblem of HIM, in whom there is no darkness. So that, upon the whole, if we examine Heathenism, and turn it about on every side, it answers the purpose of my argument, and gives never-failing testimony to an original revelation. There was absolutely nothing original in Heathens, but only that rebellious wickedness, which turned every thing to a wrong use. They invented little; but abused every thing.

These sacrifices, which were originally offered to God, they offered to impure, revengeful, cruel, beings, whom the Apostle calls devils; who were never content, in any part of the world, without human sacrifices. Wherever was Heathenism there was human sacrifice, which must have been derived from a knowledge, that man was to atone for man; not only the ancient Molochians, but the more polished Greeks and Romans. Homer, at the death of Patroclus, and Virgil at the funeral of Pallas. The act of Q. Curtius most probably proceeded from the same idea, that one man must perish for the redemption of others. Their objects, the elements, which were innocent as they stand in Scripture, were abominable and detestable, when taken for realities; and Mr. Bryant hath shown how the plagues of Egypt were generally aimed at the false objects of Heathen worship: but the author of the Book of Wisdom had told us the same long before: "for look for what things they grudged, when they were punished, that is, for them whom they thought to be gods; now being punished in them, when they saw it, they acknowledged him to be the true God, whom they before denied to

know, and therefore came extreme damnation upon them." Wisd. xii. 27.

From all that has been said, I have two inferences to make.

I. That, if Heathen books give this testimony to Divine Revelation, we should use them for the best end they are capable of answering, the confirmation of our own faith. They will never draw us away from God, if we understand what Heathenism is, and whence it came; nor should we ever omit to take advantage of it, in our arguments against Infidels. Thus it will answer a purpose contrary to its intention and nature; it will confirm what it was intended to confound: as when "out of the eater came forth meat;" and it will be happy for us, if our teachers of youth will give them such hints occasionally, as will acquaint them with this use of it. We shall not then be long under the dominion of profligate scholars, who use their heathen learning for no end, but as an instrument of evil, to corrupt and destroy the Christian world; increasing all that misery daily, which abounds too much already.

II. I would also recommend, that the deplorable consequences of a departure from the true God should be pointed out to all school-boys, as the Apostle has displayed them in the first chapter to the Romans: which was intended as a warning against the corruptions of Heathenism, and should never be forgotten to the end of the world. It is full as necessary now, as when the Apostle wrote it. For these times have now brought us about to a parallel apostacy in the French nation; worse in its guilt than the original departure to Heathenism; and, I believe, worse in its fruits. All that the Apostle has said of the ancient Heathens and their abominable morals may now be

applied to the French, in whom it is fully verified, so that they are become the very pests of the earth, and their metropolis, in the literal sense of the words, a second Sodom. Heathenism will be no source of corruption to Christians, who, with their eyes open, remember the dreadful effects of it of old, and see the consequences of it now: from which may God defend all those young men, who are now on the road to a learned education! and in this prayer, I am confident you, Reverend Sir, will most heartily join with

Your faithful and

obedient humble Servant,

WILLIAM JONES.

NAYLAND, *March* 3, 1799.

A

LETTER

TO

THREE CONVERTED JEWS,

LATELY

BAPTIZED AND CONFIRMED

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"When thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren."
Luke xii. 32.

A

LETTER,

&c.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

For your late happy conversion to the Christian Religion, I am more than thankful; I glorify God for it; and I am persuaded, all true believers in Jesus Christ will do the same: for you are now become the children of Abraham's faith, and heirs of the promises made to him. Before, you were only the children of his nature, as your Jewish brethren are: and if we lament over them, as over those that are dead, we are to rejoice over you as persons who are alive from the dead. We are much surprized when a single Jew becomes a Christian; but that three should become so at once is a great event; which would give us great encouragement, if we might presume to consider it as the first fruits of an harvest not far off; when your nation shall have their eyes opened to discover that Jesus Christ, whom they despised and rejected, is the true Saviour of the world.

The Christian Religion in these last days having assumed various forms, and being even without form; I am thankful that the good providence of God hath directed you to that form of it which is still preserved by the Church of England; as sound a part of the

Church of Christ, *in its profession,* as is to be found this day upon earth; I wish we might say as much for its discipline; and from it you may certainly receive what the Church of Christ hath to give. On one side of it we see the errors and usurpations of the Church of Rome; on the other the lamentable divisions of the sectaries: who are to be peaceably admonished of that certain ruin which division must sooner or later bring upon the Christian world. Your high priest, Aaron, was no universal bishop: he presided over one peculiar nation, who were the chosen people of God. And when the nations of the world were taken into one great *Catholic* church, so called to distinguish it from the Jewish particular church, there was no universal bishop, but our Lord Jesus Christ, the chief Shepherd and Bishop of our souls: and every national church was governed by bishops of its own, of whom we know the succession to these days, down to bishops of our own time: and you have had the blessing of being confirmed by one of the best of them. As your friend in Christ Jesus, I wish you to be farther instructed in the state of the case between us and the unbelieving Jews; that you may be enabled not only to stand your ground, but to perform the blessed office of leading others into the truth. Though I can say sincerely with St. Paul, "that my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved;" yet I dare not indulge a hope, that any feeble efforts of mine, or any thing I can teach you to say, will have effect on the Jews as a body, or on any considerable number of them, after they have so long resisted the arguments of wise and learned men. Whenever that shall happen, and by whatever instruments, it must be the Lord's doing, and it will be marvellous in our eyes. But the cause should never be

neglected: it is not to be given up in despair; for St. Paul assures us God is able (there is therefore no determination to the contrary,) to graft his people in again into their own olive, if they abide not still in unbelief. And the most promising method we can pursue, is to make use of their brethren whose eyes are opened, and by them to present a new sort of evidence, which Jews are not prepared to answer or evade. The evidence I mean is that of *signs;* such as our Saviour himself gave them from the Scripture of his own future resurrection. He gave them the sign of the prophet Jonah, swallowed for three days into the belly of a sea monster, and cast up alive upon the land. If the books of the prophets had been half filled with predictions in words, this one sign will have more force than them all on those who believe the fact: which, how it is possible to believe, without also believing the fact foreshown by it, I see not. Because there never would have been so strange a fact brought to pass in the world, as the return of Jonah from the belly of a fish; but for the sake of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the heart of the earth, which in due time was to follow: and in the mind of God, the fact of Christ was before the fact of Jonah.

This is the sort of evidence I would use, to prove what the Jews disbelieve of Christ and his religion. Men disbelieve truth, because they have first embraced error, and cannot part with it. This we shall find to have been the case with the Jews, whose errors were these following.

That God had promised to them in their father Abraham the possession of the land of Canaan; that is, the enjoyment of this present world; and that they were to serve him with this expectation. This was their first and greatest error; the foundation of all the

rest. For from hence it followed, that the kingdom of their Messiah was to be a kingdom of this world; and as Jesus of Nazareth did not affect such a kingdom, but declined it, they concluded he could not be the person; and that God had showed it, by leaving him to be despised, persecuted, and put to a shameful death. Concerning themselves they thought, that as God had chosen them for his people, they should never fall away, and be separated from him. That their law and their temple being intended for perpetuity, would never be abolished. And, lastly, that the Church of God and its privileges could not be extended to the Gentiles, and that the Gentiles never would be taken into it.

Such were the doctrines of the Jews when Jesus Christ came amongst them. In these doctrines their teachers had brought them up; and by the prejudice of their education they thought them all true; but they were every one false, and the New Testament hath taught us how to answer them.

REFUTATION OF THEIR FIRST ERROR.

God, they thought, had promised them the possession of this world in their father Abraham. To this we answer, that such could not have been the sense of the promise to them, because it never had been so fulfilled to Abraham to whom it was made. The life of Abraham had not been a life of possession and enjoyment, but of trial and pilgrimage, from the time when God first called him, to the end of his days. He was commanded to leave his country and kindred, and go out as a stranger into a land, which, as he had never seen, could only be an object of his faith. When

he was removed into the land of Judea, no inheritance was given him in that land, not so much as to set his foot on: he had no possession in it, but a place for a burying-ground; and that he paid for with his own money, that it might never be mistaken for a part of the promised inheritance. Isaac and Jacob, who were heirs with him of the same promise, led the same kind of life, confessed themselves pilgrims and strangers upon earth, and died without receiving any possession in this world.

How did it happen then, that their posterity, who had this history constantly before them, should make so fatal a mistake? How came they to be so ensnared by this world; so irrationally, so totally contrary to the example of their forefathers? The case was this: to the obedience of the law, which came afterwards, the rewards of this world were promised. Thus it came to pass, that the Books of Moses contained two sorts of promises. To the obedience of faith, such as was the obedience of the Patriarchs, the spiritual promise of the other world was given, as in those words of God to Abraham: "I am thy shield, and "thy exceeding great reward." But to this the Jews were blind; and seeing the present world also promised to another sort of obedience, they fixed upon that, and there they stopped. The mire and clay of this world was from thenceforward upon their eyes; and so they could not see what their forefather Abraham would have seen, and have leaped for joy at the sight: for to his mind, who had given up the world for God, there were none of these impediments. A misunderstanding of the law, which came afterwards, did all the mischief, and does to this day. This was the first error of the Jews, and is now their great stumbling-stone.

REFUTATION OF THEIR SECOND ERROR.

THEIR second error was in consequence of the first. Jesus Christ did not put them in possession of this world, therefore he could not be the person they expected. And they were obliged to determine, before they examined his credentials, that he was not the Messiah: and then made their own vile treatment of him an argument against him. But here again they were blinded, and proved the very thing they meant to deny, by fulfilling the Scripture. For had not Jesus Christ been persecuted by them, he would have been neither a Saviour nor a prophet to them; for thus had saviours and prophets been persecuted by them before; and that with such singular circumstances, as to foreshew, in a wonderful manner, what the great Saviour and Prophet of all should suffer from them. Examples of this might be multiplied: but two, which are full to the purpose, will be more than sufficient. The first is that of Joseph; a man wise, innocent, and great, beyond the example of any before him: but envied and hated by his brethren, and sold for a slave to heathen Egyptians. His enemies intended this for his ruin, but God turned it all to good, and highly exalted him. Heathens, to whom he had been sold, bowed the knee before him: his own family were preserved from perishing; and thus he became the Saviour of all, to whom every knee should bow, both of his own family and strangers. But see how this man was treated: look at him, and believe your eyes. He was persecuted and imprisoned under a malicious and false accusation. He was sold, and by his own brethren, who ought to have loved and admired him. And if

you look into your Bibles, you will find it was *Judah* who contrived the selling of him, of the same name with the traitor who sold Jesus Christ: and the representative of the whole Jewish nation. When I read these things, I am astonished. Here is a man perfectly just and innocent, so humbled, as never innocent man had been humbled before. He is an humble man, so exalted, as never humble man had been exalted before; and it was all from God, who had given to him a prophetic spirit. We have here a sort of evidence stronger than prophecy. A sign so exactly suited to the thing signified, as if the truth itself had been acted beforehand. Joseph did not indeed die and rise again; but he was cast into a dry pit, and came out of it alive. He was not actually crucified; but he suffered with two malefactors, and he promised life to one of them. How could his history come nearer to the truth? But there is a circumstance still behind, most remarkably to our purpose; for Joseph was met twice by his brethren, and at the first meeting they knew him not, but at the second meeting he was made known to them. And thus we trust it will be at some future day, when the brethren of Jesus Christ shall become sensible of their crime with the brethren of Joseph, and say in the bitterness of their souls "we are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear, therefore have all our evils come upon us." O think of this, ye who with unpitying eyes beheld the agonies of your Saviour, and let your hearts, at least, be melted. How ought Jews to rend their garments when they think on these things!

They have amongst them an absurd doctrine of two Messiahs, as necessary to satisfy the different predic-

tions of the Scripture; the one a suffering character, the other glorious and triumphant. But were there two Josephs? Was not he that was sold and falsely accused, and imprisoned, the same Joseph, before whom men bowed their knee, and his own brethren fell prostrate? Think of this and confess the truth, which you are not able to avoid.

Such is the history of Joseph: after which let it never be objected to the true Saviour, that he was persecuted and afflicted; for so it was to be according to the Scriptures. And we have another great example of it in the person of Moses, who said, "a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me." And the likeness appears as soon as they are born: for at the time when Moses was born, there was a massacre of Hebrew infants, from which Moses escaped in a wonderful manner. At the birth of Christ there was a massacre of Hebrew infants in Bethlehem. Herod knew not what he did; but he acted the part of Pharaoh to fulfil the Scripture, and shew that a Ruler and Deliverer was born to the nation of the Jews. The wise men of the East said, "we have seen his star, and are come to worship him." And if there had been such wise men at Jerusalem, they might have said, we have seen the massacre of Hebrew infants, and thence let us conclude, that a prophet like unto Moses is born amongst us. The first time this Moses offered himself as a deliverer to his people, they took him for a destroyer, and said, "wilt thou kill me as thou didst the "Egyptian?" He supposed that his brethren must have understood his design, but they understood it not, and put him from them. What a promising appearance was it to people, crying and sorrowing under oppression as they were, that an Hebrew should come

out of the court of their tyrant Pharaoh, to take part with the Hebrews against the Egyptians! We should expect they would have received such a man as an angel of God: but they were blind, and objected that to him as a crime, which was a sign of his commission from God to be their deliverer. When he would have restored them to peace, they insolently demanded, "who made thee a ruler and a judge?" Thus was that Moses treated, whose memory they now hold in honour. They know now, that God made him a ruler and a judge: but in the day of their visitation, they knew it not, when it most concerned them to know it, and when all circumstances concurred to make it desirable, and render it intelligible. Their ignorance drove Moses from them into an heathen land, where he formed an alliance, and had a family of heathen extraction. On a review of these circumstances, we may now say in the words of the Scripture: *This Moses whom they refused, the same did God send to be a ruler and deliverer, by the hands of the angel which appeared to him in the bush.* They refused him; but God gave him a commission from heaven: their refusal therefore was no argument against him; but it gives us a very strong argument against them, inasmuch as it sheweth plainly to all that understand the ways of God, and the words of Scripture, that the same people who had refused Moses, should afterwards refuse Jesus Christ: and we appeal to the whole, as a proof that Jesus Christ was the true Messiah: and let the disciples of Moses think of it. When the facts of Joseph, and Moses, and Jesus Christ are laid together, the evidence thence arising is so full, and of so peculiar a sort, that it appears to me irresistible.

The first two and greatest errors of the Jews are

answered. Jesus Christ did not give this world to them; for it was not given to Abraham, so much better than they were, and to whom the promise was first made. His lot, like that of Christians, was tribulation in this world, and reward in another. Jesus Christ was persecuted and rejected by his own people: but so were the greatest prophets and deliverers before him: and if it had not been thus, the signs of the Scripture could not have had their signification.

REFUTATION OF A THIRD ERROR.

If we go on to examine the other false doctrines of the Jews, we may not find them so considerable as the foregoing; but still they were such as had great weight in producing their apostacy. Knowing themselves to be the chosen people of God, they presumed on their privilege, and were confident they should never be cast off. But why so? They had been cast off before, and therefore certainly might be cast off again, upon a like occasion. They forgot Moses in the wilderness, when he was absent from them in the Holy Mount; and changed the God who had brought them out of Egypt, into an idol, and offered sacrifices to it; though Moses, while absent from them, was present with God; for their sakes, and on their business. This was a dreadful crime; and all Jews are sensible of it. They say there has been a grain of that golden calf in all the calamities they have suffered since. But to this sin they added many others; and committed many shameful idolatries; for all which God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven; till they were carried away captive into As-

syria, where ten of their tribes were lost: and after that the rest were led captive to Babylon. If all this had happened to them, it might happen again: and if their crime should be greater, their separation from God would be greater. And so they have found it. Like Cain, and for the same crime, the murder of a righteous brother, they have been fugitives and vagabonds, not at Damascus or Babylon, but *in the Earth;* scattered over all the world; and with a mark set upon them to distinguish them from all other people: not but that the Turks have the same mark; and very properly; for they are to be considered as Jewish Heretics; and our Unitarians, who are of the same stock, ought to have the same mark.

How strange and deplorable after all this, that Jews who had so shamefully apostatised, and been so severely punished, should yet be inflated with a persuasion, that they ought always to have kept their place and nation. For their idolatry they were carried to Babylon; but by murdering their Messiah, they fell into the condemnation of Cain, and became fugitives and vagabonds in the earth, and hid from the face and worship of the Lord. Are these the people who thought they could never lose their country? But they who had lost it before might lose it again. So deeply as they must *feel* this error, wonderful it is that they do not see it: but this they never will do till God shall open their eyes.

REFUTATION OF THE FOURTH ERROR.

The Jews had another false opinion about their Temple. They concluded, that as it was built for its own sake, it would be perpetual. But it was not built

for its own sake. Moses had given them to understand, that it was only a copy of an heavenly and permanent original. In the form of a tabernacle, which it had at first, it was said of it, " See thou make all things according to the pattern shewed to thee in the Mount." What is the design of a tabernacle? Is it not a House for God to dwell in? If so, that House in which God dwelleth must be the true tabernacle. But we are told that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. The fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily in the person of Christ, as the glory of God had formerly filled the temple. His body, therefore, was the true building, in which the temple was fulfilled; and he called it by its true name, when he said to the Jews, destroy this temple, meaning his body, which he said he would raise again. When the Jews had killed that body, their own temple very soon fell to ruins, and has never been raised since: which shews us how the nature of it was mistaken by those who thought it perpetual.

REFUTATION OF THE FIFTH ERROR.

THEY were under the same mistake about their law, as about their temple: for neither was that an original. Its services had a shadow and pattern of the good things which were to be under the Gospel; so that there was a sense in which the law was empty till the Gospel had fulfilled it. Jews were enraged at Christians for attempting to change the customs which Moses had delivered. But how did they change them? only by shewing their true use and signification. The law of Moses had been observed by the Jews as an outward law: the Christians made it inward and spiritual;

and thus changed its old temporary form into one that was perpetual. It is not destroyed, because the spirit of it is preserved; which spirit we Christians have; and so are more truly Jews than the Jews ever were. Their law is killed, as God kills a righteous man, when the body dies, but the soul lives. Thus we have the circumcision of the heart, which Moses commanded: they have the circumcision of the flesh; which their fathers had who fell in the wilderness, and came short of the promised land. They have the Lamb of Moses, which was sacrificed in Egypt: we have the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. We have therefore saved the law, which the Jews have lost; and our law shall never be changed, so long as the world lasts. O that the Jews had this law! they would then be Israelites indeed, and love Moses better than ever they did before.

REFUTATION OF THE SIXTH AND LAST ERROR.

But Jews never were more offended, than when it was thought possible that the Gentiles should be made partakers of the same covenant with themselves. And they were about to cast Jesus Christ headlong from a mountain, as an enemy to his country, for the most distant allusion to it. They heard Paul patiently, till he declared his mission to the Gentiles; and then they immediately became outrageous. But who shall dare to say, the Church of the Jews should never go to the Gentiles; when the first Church the Jews ever had was carried to them? The tabernacle of witness in the wilderness was carried with Joshua (Jesus) into the possession of the Gentiles: it went into Canaan while the Gentiles were in possession of

the country; and thereby showed that the Christian Church should go with our Jesus, when he should pass into the Gentile world. They who went into Canaan with Joshua were a new generation: those who came out with Moses fell with him in the wilderness. Thus have the followers of Jesus attained the promises, after the Jews had fallen short of them.

If you look at the furniture of the temple, you find a curious article which conveys the same doctrine. There was a brazen sea, with twelve oxen underneath it; with their faces pointing to the four quarters of the world: thereby showing, that the laver of Christian regeneration for the baptizing of the world should be carried out into all nations by the twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ. The Scripture has other signs of the baptizing of the Gentiles. There were many lepers in Israel in the days of Elisha:—but the prophet who was sent to none of them cured Naaman the Syrian, by sending him to wash in the sacred river of Jordan. With this fact our Saviour presses the Jews; showing them what would be from what had been; and they were not able to bear it. The Queen of the South came from a remote land of the Gentiles to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and carried back with her the religion of Solomon into her own country. This was another sign that Christ should be received by the Gentiles. And what shall I more say? Did not your lawgiver Moses go into an heathen land, and form an alliance there? But not till he had offered himself to his own people and been forced to fly from them. So the Apostles of Jesus Christ turned not to the Gentiles, till the Jews had put from them the word of life.

CONCLUSION.

Such is the sort of argument, by which I would at this time refute the errors of the Jews; as being more likely to take effect upon them, than any I have yet met with. I borrow the whole plan from an inspired disciple of Jesus Christ, the blessed St. Stephen, the first Christian Martyr; who tried all I have said, and more than I have been able to say, upon the High Priest and Council of the Jews, with no effect, but that of provoking them to put him to death; the answer which power often gives to truth for want of a better. It appears that St. Paul heard Stephen's apology without being converted. But he could then hear nothing, when his mind, agitated with the fury of opposition, breathed out threatenings and slaughter. The miraculous power of God's grace was necessary to him, before the scales of Jewish blindness fell from his eyes. And the same grace, in its proper degree, is necessary before any Jew can hear these things now: and I should not dare to try the experiment now, but with some hopes that their hearts may be better prepared, and the grace of God may no longer be withheld. Then may the pattern of St. Paul be accomplished in his brethren, who shall at length believe as he did to life everlasting. Little good can be done on any other terms. I take, as nearly as I can, the same ground with St. Stephen in the 7th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: whose apology I had often read, without being able to see the force of it: the whole seemed rather unmeaning and impertinent to my great surprise. Yet I was convinced the Jews must have seen it, because they so much felt it, and put him to death for it. After much consideration, I saw its re-

lation to the character and sufferings of Jesus Christ and the nature of his religion: and from that moment I wished, for more than thirty years, for some opportunity of trying it on some Jews in this age of the world: and the late happy conversion gives me the opportunity I wished for. In Stephen's time it did not succeed; it could not possibly, when circumstances were so different, and prejudices so violent. But times are now greatly altered, and wonderful things have intervened. Their temple which was then standing is now fallen, and has not one stone upon another. Their whole œconomy is overthrown. The Romans whom they stirred up against Jesus Christ, lest they should lose their place and nation, have long since, by the just judgment of God, taken away both, and dispersed the inhabitants over the world. Their land is now usurped and trodden by those Turkish infidels, who arose out of their own apostacy. All these things, and many more, have they seen: and are they still unmoved? Are their hearts so hard as they were seventeen hundred years ago? May the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob forbid it! I feel myself under so much concern for the welfare of the Hebrew nation, having long been a reader of the Hebrew language; that I could take great delight in representing these things to them myself; but few of them are known to me; nor indeed should I like to talk with any one of them, unless I were first assured, that he could sincerely fall down on his knees, and beg for light and direction from the God of his fathers.

When Paul was struck blind in his Jewish unbelief, Ananias, a Christian disciple, was sent to him after a time, for this reason—for behold he prayeth—and his prayer was this—Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?—Till a Jew can utter the same prayer from the

bottom of his heart, no message from Jesus Christ will do him any good.

You, my new fellow Christians, who are of the Jews, and must know many of them, will have many opportunities, and I entreat you not to neglect them. You now see what may be said to your brethren, on whom many unanswerable arguments have long been tried without effect; for they have their evasions ready. These arguments of St. Stephen, from the signs of the Scripture, are such as they are not prepared to answer; and though they are not new in themselves, they are of so new a sort, both to Jews and Christians, that they may excite new considerations, and lead to new conclusions. You see what a new face they give, and what new light they cast upon the law of Moses; which gives me occasion to mention a remarkable circumstance in the history of St. Stephen's defence. When Moses gave the Law, he had a veil upon his face to conceal that glory which the Jews were not able steadfastly to behold. In this apology you see another minister of God delivering the Law to them over again; but now without its veil, as it is fulfilled in Jesus Christ, under the Gospel, which is its true glory. And while he does this, his face shines: all that sat in the council, looking steadfastly at him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. He certainly was performing the office of another Moses to them, and doing for them what the first could not do; and I am confident, that all who listen to this new Moses of the Gospel will see farther into the wisdom of the Old Testament than they did before.

Hitherto, my friends, I have spoken to you as to those who *were Jews*: I wish, before I conclude, to address you as those who *are Christians*; and to remind you that Christians are still subject to the mis-

takes of Jews, and should be careful to avoid them. You may now call yourselves true children of Abraham: if you would continue such, you must not think that your inheritance is in this world, but set your faces towards that country which Abraham expected, and which in this life is as unseen to us as it was to him. The Jerusalem he looked for is a city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. This was the reason why God was called the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, because he had a spiritual relation to them which continued after they were dead. He was therefore called their God, and was not ashamed of the title, as he would have been had they looked for nothing from him but temporal promises. Of the Land of Promise you may have a prospect as Moses had; but you must die before you can reach it. Do not then mistake the nature of your inheritance. Abraham had no possession till his death; he then began to take possession of the estate he had purchased, to show that the righteous hath hope in his death: this was the true meaning of the Cave of Macpelah, and the expectation of the faithful Patriarchs, who are buried in that cave, is worth all the riches of all the Jews upon earth, as I hope you will think when you come to die.

If Christ suffered on the cross, the doctrine of the cross will ever be essential to his religion. There is one respect in which we are all Jews, for the natural man never did relish this doctrine of the cross; there is indeed nothing in the world he hates so much; but it is your duty to pray that you may love it and bless it, for the cross must be taken up by every follower of Christ: and if it be the cure of sin and sorrow, and leads to heaven, keep it as your life, and regard not what men say of you for so doing; for the time will

never come when your Saviour will not be rejected of the world: but think not the worse of him for that. Though like Joseph, he was hated and sold, he is "gone before to preserve life," and prepare a place for us.

If the hope that is set before you is great, so also is your danger. Your forefathers, after all the promises they had received, and all the mighty works they had seen under Moses, left their carcases in the wilderness and fell short of Canaan. This sinful world has all the temptations of Egypt, to seduce your affections from the living God; and may be remembered to your ruin as it was by your forefathers. They displeased God by an attachment to an outward religion: but no religion can be pleasing to him, without the religion of the heart, and an eye that can discern spiritual things. Having now, by your reception of the Gospel, obtained the true key to the Law and the Prophets, you ought to see farther into them every day: to which end I would earnestly recommend unto you the diligent reading of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which their spiritual use is unfolded at large.

After what we have learned from St. Stephen, let us conclude with a prayer to Almighty God, that with the doctrine of that blessed Martyr, the light which shone upon his face may shine inwardly upon our hearts: then shall we at length see what he did: we shall see the heavens opened, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God. Amen.

N. B. The respectable persons, to whom the foregoing Letter is addressed, being a brother and his two sisters, were baptized, with

true satisfaction and comfort to themselves and to their pastor, on Monday the 18th day of March, 1799, by the Rev. George Gaskin, D.D. Rector of Stoke-Newington, Middlesex, in the church of that parish, and were confirmed, on the Saturday following, by the Right Rev. Beilby, Lord Bishop of London, in the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn.

A

LETTER

TO THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

POINTING OUT

SOME POPULAR ERRORS

OF BAD CONSEQUENCE.

BY

AN OLD FRIEND AND SERVANT OF THE CHURCH.

"I have a few things against thee." *Rev.* ii. 14.

MEN, BRETHREN, AND FATHERS,

THE Christian Church, at the first establishment of the gospel, had a perfect rule of faith and discipline, which it was commanded to preserve pure and entire, but was not expected to *improve*. In process of time, when Christian people found what corruptions had entered by means of that authority, which the Church of Rome had assumed, to teach and order all other churches, every church was under the necessity of restoring itself, as nearly as might be, to the primitive pattern; in doing which, not one amongst them all succeeded so well as the Church of England, whose articles contain a godly and wholesome doctrine; sufficient at that time to preserve the faith and keep out error. And if we were now where the Church of England was then, we might do well. But as the world is always changing, time hath lately brought up many new and strange things; Revolution hath succeeded Revolution; every one worse than the former: but what is worst of all, there hath been a revolution in men's minds as well as in their fortunes. What was sense formerly, is not such now; and if a man starts up this day with something new and wonderful, the public are so divided about him, that while some think him wise and ingenious, others see that he is mad; not with that sort of madness which brings him into confinement, but which unfortunately leaves him at liberty to ruin other men, with an appearance of reason. To this degree of depravity men could not arrive all at once; the evil must have been stealing upon us by degrees; and it is now grown to such

a size, that we are warranted to say, some new security is wanting, beyond those *articles* which were sufficient at the Reformation, to keep out new errors, far more pernicious than the old. But how shall they be introduced, or who shall introduce them? At the Reformation this Church knew itself to be wrong, and was ready to take advice; but our wrong opinions are now so generally thought to be right, that few men see them, and fewer still will dare to contradict them. A private person can only say what he would propose, if it lay upon him to purge the Church of England of those errors which modern times have produced; and which will inevitably bring us to ruin, if they continue to prevail. For error will not be stationary; the breach at which the waters enter will grow wider, and admit more of them continually, till the inundation is universal, and the breach irreparable.

GOVERNMENT.

The first and the most pressing of all popular mistakes, at this time, relates to government. We are now called upon, as Christian men, to protest against it, and declare, that God, who is the maker of the world, is the governor of it; and that there can be, as the Scripture expressly teaches, *no power but of God*. Force and violence there may be, by his permission, for a curse upon a wicked people; but power of authority, for the execution of legal justice, and the preservation of peace amongst men, there can be none. For there is but *one lawgiver*, who can save and destroy. He makes the law, and he executes it; men act under him, and for him, in defence of the Ten Commandments; and woe be to them when they cease to

do it; for in that case God takes the power into his own hand, and turns the sword against the prince as well as against the people, where his laws have not been maintained.

We ought, therefore, to renounce and detest that abominable doctrine, that the power of government is from the people who are governed. We see now immediately how false and contradictory is this principle, that the subject should be the sovereign. When once it is admitted, it produces licentiousness, injustice, and anarchy. And it must be so, for the laws of God are restraints upon the passions of men; and if the power be given to those who are to be restrained, they cry out Liberty, and throw them all off; breaking loose like wild beasts, to tear and devour one another. We see an example of it before our eyes, so that the consequence wants no proving. The moral world becomes such as the natural would be, without the lights of heaven, which God hath placed over our heads, and out of our reach, to rule over the day and over the night; and we will as soon believe, that the sun is made out of earthly clay, as that the power of Government is made out of the people. The people are a large body; but government is as much bigger than they, as the sun is bigger than the earth. The power of the people is not a doctrine of this church; but it has been so long and so much the opinion of the nation, and has done so much mischief in the world, that the time is now come when we ought to examine its pretensions, and cast it out if we can.

REVOLUTION.

From the English *Revolution*, as it was unfortunately called, our modern atheists think they can prove

that the King of England and the Directory of France has the same title; and that it is the only good one. However this notion might be endured at one time, it is not to be endured now facts have taught us that it is an axe laid to the root of all the Governments and Laws upon earth. All wise men might plainly foresee this; and did, when the doctrine first came into fashion. *Revolution principles* have long been cried up by the seditious, but they were not the principles of *our* Revolution; which will authorize no change, but when the Prince is introducing *Popery* into the land, and leaves the *throne vacant* to the next *Protestant heir;* for this was the fact at our Revolution. *Popular power* was avoided by the politicians of that day; who well knew, that no Government could be secure if that were once admitted; it being a principle which must breed everlasting confusion. Bad men embrace it, and cry it up to the skies, because they delight in mischief, and hate the power of God. Where the people are King, God is not God; nor will be, till he shall re-assert his rights, and put down all usurpation.

SCHISM.

The same principle which disturbs the order of civil government breaks the peace of the Church. When it operates against the State, it is called the *power of the people;* but in religion it is called *private judgment,* and sometimes *conscience;* but it always acts against the judgment of authority. It has been a great misfortune of late times, that we have been partakers in other men's sins, by making too light of the offence and danger of schism. What self-interest denominates

liberality and charity, is really nothing but indifference or ignorance. The Church being the Church of God, it cannot be in the power of man to put ministers into it, and give them authority to act. The rule of the Scriptures is therefore absolute, that *no man taketh this honour unto himself*, but he that is *called of God;* which calling must be visible, because that of Aaron was so, who is the pattern in the Scriptures. Ministers in the Christian Church act for God to the people; which they cannot do without God's Commission. The rule and its reason are both plain to common sense, and want no explanation. It is to be considered farther, that if the promises of God are made to his Church, no man can expect to obtain them by joining himself to any other company of men, after his own fancy. The ark of Noah was a pattern and pledge of the Church of Christ, and the persons saved in it were saved by water, as we are by baptism; so the Church of England understands it. Now let us only ask ourselves, what became of those who were out of the ark? The parallel will suggest what great danger there must be to those who are out of the Church. Thus did primitive Christians argue, and unless they had privileges which we have lost, we must argue in the same manner now. If not, we do dishonour to the grace of God, who hath mercifully taken us into the ark of his Church, and our indifference will do no good: nobody will be gained by it; offences among men will be multiplied, and the authority of God's religion will be weakened: for if the Church may be any thing, men will soon conclude it may be nothing; and who will not own, if his eyes are open, that much of the relaxation and confusion of modern times hath arisen from the poor low ideas which some good men have entertained and propagated upon this great subject?

Others, who have dared to argue of late years as Christians did of old, have been branded with the name of *high Churchmen*, and very deservedly; for we know of no other true Churchmen; but faction, seeking rest for itself, can find none, but by inventing names and distinctions which have no sense in the mouth of a Christian; they are all of this world, and calculated to serve some carnal purpose. Rebellion in the State comes forward at this time with a more threatening aspect toward religion, than it ever yet assumed amongst mankind; yet, if due enquiry be made, the same near alliance will still be discovered as hath always subsisted between schism and rebellion. Wise people should consider, that whatever examples there may have been of piety, learning, wit, or wisdom, joined with schism, they can never prove that schism is no sin: no man can be taken as an authority against the laws of God: and the great law of charity, is supreme over all. It is not kindness, but meanness, which shews respect to sin in any man; for no man's person can render sin respectable. What is convenient to him, if pernicious in itself and its consequences, ought to be detestable to us; and if offence must be given, it is better to offend man than God.—Tenderness to schism may be a fine thing, and pass for true piety, so long as men shall judge one another; but when God shall judge us all, it must give an account of itself to Him who is no respecter of persons.

REVELATION.

The light of the Church is the Scripture; but from man's invention and the fashion of the times, another light hath arisen among us, and is now in its meridian.

There are some who would retain both, supposing them to be consistent; while others, knowing they are not so, make use of the one against the other. The first offence of man was a desire of wisdom independent of God; but in the things of God, we must be *all taught of God*, as man was at first; and till we are so taught, we must set in darkness, as the heathens did, from the time when they became their own teachers. The example of the whole heathen world yields us a demonstration that wisdom in religion is not natural to man; the very supposition is an absurdity, contrary to fact and reason; for if nature cannot keep the wisdom of religion when it hath it, who will expect that it should find it out when it hath it not? Besides, the eye of man, and the mind of man, are both under like circumstances. The eye can see, and the mind can understand; but as the eye cannot see the things of this world without light, so neither can the mind see the things of the other world, without revelation. It is dishonourable to God, and ungrateful, to look within ourselves for another rule, when he hath given us one from himself; and by admitting such a thing, the world hath been self-deceived and corrupted, till now the Gospel is rejected, and what is falsely called reason (but under the present use of it, is infatuation) hath taken its place. What nature hath falsely and proudly claimed, that we have weakly allowed to the deists; and they have now taken full advantage of it. This evil was long foreseen; but not in all its magnitude, till it lately displayed itself to the world. O fatal day for England! when the *religion of nature*, and the *power of the people*, first gained admission into lecture-books: they are now too firmly established to be shaken by such a hand as mine. Our teachers, reputed by some to be most wise and learned,

and our reforming writers, who mean well to their country, and think they see all the dangers of the time, leave both these errors in full possession of the schools. What shall I say? where shall I find such words as will be heard? *For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye, runneth down with water* *! I would call for some to join me in the alarm, but who will answer? If the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? If the teachers want to be taught, wherewith shall we teach them? O learned Andrews; O blessed Ken; O holy Beveridge; O wise and sagacious Leslie; your days are past! If I had cried unto you, ye would have listened to me; ye would not have disdained to enquire whether these things are so. God might be gracious, and preserve our candlestick in its place, for the sake of that light which he gave to it: but can it be expected, that he will preserve this false light of deism, (for the religion of nature certainly is no better) which the enemy, in an evil hour, hath established in the place of it; while the watchmen were asleep, and knew not whence he acted, nor what he was doing? Every real Christian should understand, and confess, that we are dependent upon God for *all* we know of religion; and never admit any thing for a principle but what is certainly and clearly taught in holy Scripture.

SPIRIT.

Man being composed of soul and body, all true religion has a part for both; a *sign visible,* and *spiritual grace invisible.* Baptism, which is a washing with water, is effectual to wash away sin, only as it is a washing with the Spirit. In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Bread is the sign; but it is the ***Bread***

* Lam. i. 16.

of Life only, as it is the Body of Christ, who gave it to us with this intention, that it should be *spirit* and *life* to us. If it have nothing *nutritive*, why should it be expressed by *food*? But there are too many amongst us, who, professing themselves to be wise, and to see farther than others, take away from us all the inward and vital part, and leave us nothing but the husks of religion. All the rest, they say, is a deception, of which rational men see nothing. But I say, that if our religion be any thing, it is a communication, restored and kept up between the Spirit of God and the spirit of men. If the Gospel be true in its promises, something is *now* done, whereby man becomes possessed of that *eternal life* which he shall never lose: but the new scheme of formality takes all this away, and renders it impossible. To talk of *life* and *spirit* to such men, is, in their estimation, to *cant*; but in ours, it is to cast pearls before swine, who trample them under their feet. Spiritual things are real, though invisible. God is not seen; the soul of man is not seen; what acts upon it is not seen; therefore it is truly said of us, that we walk by *faith*, and not by *sight*; so that without faith we see nothing; we know nothing; we receive nothing; we are nothing; and the whole Gospel is no better than a dream. But this is *learning*; this is *reason*; which wisely admitting but what it sees, loses all the benefits of Christianity. When we affirm that *spiritual* things are *real*, it may be added, that nothing else is so; the whole world, and all things therein, are but shadows of things eternal; and like a shadow shall pass away when they have answered a temporary purpose.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Too many mistakes are current amongst us in regard to the *Old Testament;* without which, the New never was and never will be understood. From the beginning of the world, life was revealed to man through Jesus Christ, the promised seed. The religion which God gave, was a religion of expectation; always proposing something not yet to be *seen*, but to be *believed;* and why? because without *Faith it is impossible to please him.* All religion without this is vain; and, as the Apostle assures us in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, ever was. For this, our father Abraham lived as a stranger upon earth, looking for a better state, and a better life. On this account only, God is called *his* God now he is *dead*, and though dead he still liveth. The law, which came after, was *added* to this faith, not to destroy it, but to preserve it; by severing, securing, and as it were shutting up, the people of God from the company of idolaters. It is therefore false and dangerous to teach, that the Old Testament had not the promise of life, because the law had it not. The law could not have it; for the promise being already given to faith, the law could neither give it nor take it away. Yet the law answered a great purpose; its passovers, and sacrifices, and baptisms, had so near a relation to the Gospel in sign and figure, that it was a *schoolmaster unto Christ;* and its elements were so plain, that children might understand the design of them, when it was shown how Christ at his coming had fulfilled them. Faith has been the religion of man, and the trial of man, ever since the fall of Adam, and will be to the end. For the want of it, the Jews fell into a blindness of

heart, which the conceit of worldly wisdom and the lust after worldly power never fail to produce. But this is no proof that they had not the example of their father Abraham constantly before their eyes; which, as Jews, they were called to understand and follow.

IDOLATRY.

The design of the law, as I said before, and as divines well know, was to keep the people of God separate from heathen idolaters. The reason of this is manifest, and the rules for keeping up the separation were so strict, that they operate on the Jews to this very day; who still hold all the wisdom of idolatry in abomination. But this has not been the case with us Christians; we have not been so zealous and careful in this matter as we ought to have been. At the first publication of the Gospel, the partition between Jew and Gentile was broken down for the salvation of the Gentiles; but about the time of the Reformation, at what is called the *revival of learning*, it was again broken down in another manner, for the corruption of Christians; when, under the name of learning, a flood of heathen books broke in upon the Christian world: and it has been the pride of some men's hearts, and the labour of their lives, to read them continually and indiscriminately. Greeks and Romans were certainly masters of expression and composition, and attained in a high degree to that *wisdom of words* which they were ever seeking after. For this wisdom we apply to them; but we take their pride, their licentiousness of sentiment, their error of principle, and sometimes even the vilest of their idolatry, along with it. From the two great authors of antiquity, Homer and Virgil, sacred with scholars, pick out all the idolatry, and lay it by itself; then look at it, and see what frightful,

what abominable stuff, what absurd blasphemy, we tolerate and swallow down, for the sake of the poetry with which it is dished up; but, alas! the charge of blasphemy will be to those who dare to speak against it. From Heathens we have sucked in that haughty spirit of independence which disdains all superiority. In Scripture it is called *Belial;* let it loose, and it will soon drive the world to madness and ruin, as it does at this time. Show me an angel of heaven, who has a single grain of this spirit in his composition, and then I will believe there may be some good in it. From Heathens we have gathered that fungus of literature, that doctrine of Bedlam, the majesty and sovereignty of the people. Had it not been for them, Christians had never been so weak as to believe that the visionary liberty which is setting the world on fire, is the great object in society, the blessing of human life. From them we learned, that no nation, with a King over them, can be *free,* though it be Solomon or Augustus; in consequence of which, we see men falling under a multitude of tyrants, all bloody-minded, all thieves, and not one of them responsible. O miraculous infatuation! Christians can never be so foolish, but by infection from Heathens. And how is the evil to be corrected? for it is now as profane to scruple heathen books, as it once was to admit them. If a man speak against Heathens, he affronts Christians; and with as little peril he may write against the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Learning is now a very different thing from what it was formerly. When joined with good principle and the fear of God, it turned a *good* man into a *great* man; but if joined with error and ungodliness, as is now too frequently the case, it turns a scholar into a ruffian; and of two men who are both equally wicked, he that is the more learned (as learn-

ing is now) will be the more noxious animal of the two. I love Greek; I admire genius; I honour science; but, supposing man to be made for another world, I know it is above all to be able to say, *Lord I am not high-minded;* for life is short and vain, eternity is before us, God is to be our judge. If our learning be such as leads us astray from God, and turn an irresistible judge into an enemy—away with it all; the humble ploughman who says his daily prayers, is the more useful subject, the happier man, and will soon be the greater.

HUMAN AUTHORITY.

Though all human authority, as such, is dangerous, and often fatal, we are always disposed to follow it; and we have warning of this in the Gospel; "*If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.*" The reason of this does not lie very deep; we *give* honour with the hope of *receiving* it; vanity is the passion which is first awake in man, and is seldom at rest before his last sleep. When we magnify another, we are providing reputation to ourselves; for if the world allow him to be great for what he thought, it will allow us to be so likewise, for thinking as he did, and perhaps on no other condition. On which consideration, no man shews real humility and fortitude so much, as when he dares to follow an authority which the world does not follow. *Blessed is he* (said Christ) *that shall not be offended in me;* he will see how I am received by the world, and if he can stand that trial, he is a happy man, and entitled to a blessing. Christ, though the light of the world to those that have eyes, was attended with no glare, to invite and attract admiration; but if the world put a book into your hand, you are apprised in the first place, how great the au-

thor was in understanding, what a miracle of abilities, and how universally accepted and esteemed! Oh, what a vigorous mind! when the meaning perhaps is not whether he is wrong or right, but that he is a learned manufacturer of his opinions. He works up his stuff well, but it is good for nothing; and if the mischief be great, it is chiefly because we do not *begin* with God, who will never deceive us. I am the more earnest in this matter, because the age abounds with affected declamations against human authority; whereas there never was a time when men so meanly submitted their understandings to be led away by one another. When opinion takes us captive, we think our chains honourable, and attempt not to recover the liberty wherewith God hath made us free from one another. It is an honour to submit our faculties to God, who gave them; but it is base and servile to submit to the usurpations of man, in things pertaining to God. There is no remedy, but in taking *his* word, and depending upon *his* truth; after which, all other truth, so far as it is necessary or useful, shall be added.

We have allowed so much to human philosophy, that it is too commonly known against our preachers, and factiously objected to them, that they neglect the Gospel, and take what they call good natural religion into the pulpit. This is justly thought to be a great and crying abuse; in consequence of which gospel-preachers arise and abound, who have no authority to teach the people. One reformation without authority soon begets another of the same sort; confusion thickens; and of spiritual, as well as of political anarchy, we all know the end; we know whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. One corruption, once admitted, soon increases to more, till all is lost.

We preach wrong: that error is corrected by another; by a reformation founded in disobedience: that turns to schism: and in schism, they that are wise *without* the Church, will soon be wise *against* it; this leads to heresy, and that to infidelity; a dreadful progress; but it hath been verified a thousand times. Whence comes all this? what is the root of all? how are our preachers formed and educated? Look at Bishop Warburton's directions for the studies of a young Clergyman; his first book is *Locke on Human Understanding:* you need look no farther, for if he begin here, we know what road he will pursue. When I speak of Mr. Locke, I speak not of the *man*, but of his *principles*. God will measure no man by his powers, but by his application of them. We must allow that he was a man of uncommon talents, and wise in his generation; but so much the worse, if his foundations were false, and his schemes dangerous. We must allow that the world is gone after him: worse still, for they are a large body; and if they are out of the way, great must be the power to fetch them back again: We may add, which is worst of all, that he was the oracle to those who began and conducted the American Rebellion; which led to the French Revolution; which will lead (if God permit) to the total overthrow of Religion and Government in this kingdom, perhaps in the whole Christian world; and all this from Mr. Locke; the prime favourite, and grand instrument, with that mischievous infidel Voltaire; who knew what he was about, when he came forward to destroy Christianity, as he had threatened, with Mr. Locke in his hand; and it has answered his purpose: after which, let any person judge, whether the doctrines of Mr. Locke will prepare any young man for preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Facts are stubborn things,

and they furnish a plain and certain rule to our judgment; the same with that of the Gospel, *By their fruits ye shall know them.*

I may be thought to have said too much, and gone too far, but I am afraid I have not gone far enough. This is not a time to trifle; we are not to tremble at small dangers, when evils of the first magnitude are ready to fall upon us. I would not rudely conclude any notion to be false, because it is popular; but popularity with me is no recommendation, when I consider what absurdities have been propagated by learned men, and swallowed by the populace in the Church of Rome. But this I know withal, that he who slights popularity must never expect to be popular: a great misfortune to some men, but a very small one to others. I learned very early in life, that if any one would go through the world with peace to his mind, and advantage to his fortune, he must *hear, and see, and say nothing:* but I learned afterwards, that the truth of God is worth all the world; and in this persuasion, as I have long lived, so now I hope to die; leaving behind me this paper, as a witness that there was one man, of little note, and of no ambition, who, having his eyes opened to see some great errors of the time, with the power they have obtained over the judgments of learned men; and knowing their tendency to alienate us farther from God, and involve us in that total corruption which must bring divine judgment upon us, could not refrain from warning his brethren, that they consider in time (if time be still left to us) how far, and in what respect, they are departed from the faith and truth of the Church of England, as it was at the Reformation: how far they have been seduced by novel schemes, which have no foundation but in men's heads; how far they have been carried down

the stream by the current opinions of the time, and the influence of fashion, which few minds are able to withstand. We are told that things may be *highly esteemed among men,* and yet be *abomination in the sight of God.* What are these things? where are they to be found? and how are they to be detected? not by scholastic subtilties, but by this easy rule before mentioned, and ever to be remembered; in the application of which it is scarcely possible to err, BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM. One naked strait line from Heaven will detect all the numberless crooked lines of earthly wisdom, with all their flourishes and decorations about them.

Let every word I have said be put to this test; it is all the allowance I ask or desire; but from the world I will never take the rule of my judgment: I will take it only from God, who is the judge of all. Knowing the danger of human authority, and the rashness of human speculation, I will depend no more on any philosopher, however great and celebrated, than upon the poor fallen Pope of Rome: if he do not depend upon God, I will not depend upon *him:* and if the world, for so doing, should shut me out from its mercy, God, I trust, will receive me to his, through Jesus Christ: in whose name, and for whose sake, I subscribe myself, with duty and affection.

A Friend and Servant to the Church of England.

THOUGHTS

ON

A CHURCH ORGAN.

The structure of this instrument is not unlike that of my bodily frame, with its different powers and faculties—the marvellous work of God, who buildeth all things. The materials of which it is composed were taken from the earth; when the work was complete, it left the world, and was brought hither to be dedicated as long as it lasts to the service of God. And here it remains abstracted from all earthly concerns, and inclosed within the walls of this sacred building; it keeps company with none but those who come to worship God, together with the departed, who in the days of their flesh did the same, and never refuses to join in the sound of his praise, either by day or night. But yet of itself it is a machine dead and silent, incapable of acting, till it be first *acted* upon, for it hath no voice, unless the air supplies it with breath, of which men hear the sound, but see not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth.——Such, oh my Soul, is every one that is born of the Spirit. God hath taken thee out of the world, and given thee a place in his holy Catholic Church; the Temple of Jerusalem, whose walls are called Salvation, and his gates Praise. This organ by its situation is become

Christian; it might have been appropriated like many others to a profane use; it might have been fixed in some garden of pleasure, to bear its part in nightly songs of praise to the god of this world—and it might have been thy lot, but for God's grace, to have stood in the way of sinners, devoted to the pleasures of this world, the paradise of fools, where thou wouldst have yielded all thy members servants of iniquity; and nought but filthy communication would have proceeded out of thy mouth.—There is not a pipe of this organ that spends its breath in boasting of its privileges; it came not hither of itself, neither doth the organ sanctify the Temple, but the Temple sanctifieth *that.* Do thou practise the like humility; for it is no honour to the Church of Christ, that thou hast taken up a place in it; thou camest not hither of thyself, it was the grace of God that brought thee to this place and state of salvation, and all the honour thou hast is borrowed from the Lord's mystical body, whereof thou art a member: in this station, be not useless to him who hath chosen thee as an instrument fitted for his service.—The pattern thou seest here before thee is always prepared to answer when the master touches it.—Oh, mayest thou be as ready to join at all times with the great congregation in uttering the voice of Blessing and Honour, and Glory, and Power unto the Lamb that hath redeemed thee from the world by his own blood. When thy Master calls upon thee, be it in the evening, in the morning, at noonday, or at midnight, do thou answer, "Oh God my heart is ready, my heart is ready, I will sing and give praise with the best member that I have. Awake up my glory, awake lute and harp; I myself will awake right early."—But the organ sounds not, till the wind communicates a voice to it.—"Every thing

that hath *breath* may praise the Lord"—nothing that is without breath can do it.—Yet such is the organ of man's body.—An instrument dumb and lifeless, till God that formed it breathes into it the breath of life. Look down, therefore, O Lord, with compassion upon the emptiness of my nature.—

Come Holy Ghost, eternal God
Proceeding from above,
Both from the Father and the Son,
The God of Peace and love!

According to thy promise made
Thou givest speech with grace,
That thro' thy help, the praise of God
May sound in every place.

Thus prepared, assisted, and fixed in the Church of the living God, O my soul, it is good for thee to be here; and mayst thou go out no more for any profane purposes. The way to keep thy place is to preserve thy use, to be serviceable in returning to God the praises he put into thy mouth, and leading others forward to do the same. Thou must be content to do this by intervals, with the Church below, till thy voice shall sound in that other congregation, where they rest not day or night.

It is but too notorious, that in many (not to say most) congregations, the time of the voluntary is a time of trifling chat and dissipation. It is to be wished that organists would always play such short and solemn pieces of music as might gain some attention. But where this is not the case (and where persons have not much taste for music) perhaps it might tend to kindle some serious reflections in the mind, if these few thoughts were transcribed upon a blank leaf in our Common Prayer Book; and so subjected to

our sight and consideration during the time that the organ is playing, which surely is most unseemly to employ in idle conversation.—" What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in"—to talk of your politics and your news—" that ye thus profane the temple of the living God ?" The least share of reflection would be sufficient to remedy this evil, while we desire it to be observed, that indecent and irreverent behaviour in the house of the Lord is always a sign of a deficiency in good sense, good breeding, and religion.

THE

TRUE CHRISTIAN.

I am the Vine, *Ye are the branches.* Matt. xv. 5.
By their Fruits *Ye shall know them.* Matt. vii. 20.

WHEN the way of truth is evil spoken of, and mankind follow their own lusts, forsaking both the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles of Jesus Christ; it must needs be difficult, amidst the variety of opinions and opposite persuasions of men, all of whom are called by the common name of Christians, to distinguish good from evil, and truth from falsehood. The safest course that can be taken, is to trust neither to the word nor to the example of any man living, but to look unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who, while men are changing with every blast, is *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* The Scripture having plainly told us what the *Master* is, we may thence learn what the *disciple* ought to be, and collect the qualifications of the *true Christian* from the character and offices of his Saviour Jesus Christ,

1. Whom as GOD the Christian is to *worship* and *serve.* Compare 2 Cor. v. 19, with Luke iv. 8.

2. As He is the true LIGHT, the Christian is to derive all spiritual *wisdom* and understanding

1. Hereby the Christian is distinguished from the *Arian* and the *Socinian;* from *indevout* believers; and from *idolaters* of all denominations.

2. Here the Christian differs from the philosophical tribe of *Deists,* who discover a pretended

from him: to see God and the things of eternity by *his* light, as the things of this world are seen by the light of the *sun*, which is an image of him. John ix. 5. and 39. Isa. xlii. 6, 7. and xxxv. 5. Psal. xxxvi. 9. Mal. iv. 2. Rev. iii. 18.

3. As he is a MASTER, the Christian is to sit at his feet, and hear his Word; consulting that word upon all the subjects it has treated of, and abiding peaceably by all its determinations. Matt. xxiii. 10. Col. ii. 3.

4. As He is a BUILDER and an HUSBANDMAN, the Christian, according to the institutions of Christ, is to be *builded* and *planted* by him into his Church, which is his *House* and his *Vineyard*. Heb. iii. 3, &c. 1 Tim. iii. 15. 1 Cor. iii. 9. Psalm xcii. 13. Rom. vi. 4, 5.

5. As he is the HIGH PRIEST and BISHOP *of Souls*, the Christian is to partake of his *Sacrifice;* to rely on his *intercession* and *atonement;* and to obey those who are put in authority under him. Heb. iv. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 25. Eph i. 7. Heb. xiii. 17.

6. As He is a BRIDEGROOM, the Christian is to give him his *affections*. John iii. 29. and xiv. 23. Eph. vi. 24.

law by the light of *reason*, and call it the *Religion* of *Nature*, which is the Gospel of the *natural Man;* for whose character see 1 Cor. ii. 14. Job xi. 12. Jer. x. 14.

3. By this he is distinguished from *Heretics* of all denominations: and his doctrines are distinct from *imaginations*, and every high thing that *exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and the obedience of Christ*. 2 Cor. x. 5.

4. In this he differs from the *Enthusiast* and the *Schismatic*, who are for receiving the divine grace without those *means of grace* which God hath appointed, who has an undoubted right to save mankind in *his own way*. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. and 35.

5. By this the Christian is distinguished from those who forsake the *Holy Communion;* from the *Socinian who denies* the Christian *redemption;* and from those who perish in the *gainsaying of Korah*. Jude 11.

6. This distinguishes him from the carnal believer, who *holdeth the truth in unrighteousness*, and giveth his affections to the *World*, the *Flesh*, and the *Devil*,

7. As He is a KING, the Christian must submit to his authority, and acknowledge it in the persons of all earthly kings his representatives. Prov. viii. 15. John xviii. 37. Dan. ii. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 17. Col. ii. 10. Rom. xiii. 1. Tit. iii. 1.

8. As he is an EXAMPLE or pattern, the Christian is to follow his steps, by *doing good* to the souls and bodies of men; maintaining a spirit of *Zeal* for the *House of God*, his *truth*, and his *Religion*; and *patient suffering* of contempt, reproach, and persecution, for righteousness sake. 1 Pet. ii. 21. John xiii. 15. Acts x. 38. Matt. xxi. 12. John xviii. 17. and vii. 7. 1 Pet. ii. 23. Matt. v. 10, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 18, &c. and chap. iv. 12, &c.

which he renounced at his baptism. Rom. i. 18.

7. Here the Christian differs from those who hold it lawful to depose kings, by virtue either of the *Pope's* or the *People's* power: from those who are *traitors, heady* and *high-minded*; who while they plead for rebellion under the name of *liberty*, are the *servants of corruption*, and obnoxious to the penalty of *damnation*. Matt. xxvi. 52. 2 Pet. ii. 10, &c. to ver. 20. 2 Tim. iii. 4. Rom. xiii. 2.

8. His practices in these respects distinguish him from all those who are *conformed to this world*; from the friends of lukewarmness and latitudinarianism; from the drowsy and the indifferent; the covetous, the impatient, the proud, and the unmerciful. John viii. 23. Luke xxiii. 12. Acts xviii. 17. Rev. iii. 16. Gal. i. 10. James ii. 13. Luke xvi. 14. 1 Cor. vi. 9, &c.

Such was the Christianity of Apostles and Martyrs: and he who hath thus *learned Christ*, is a CHRISTIAN, not in word only but in deed and in truth.

BLESSED is He, whosoever shall not be OFFENDED in ME. Matt. xi. 6.

TWO LETTERS

TO

A PREDESTINARIAN.

LETTERS

TO

A PREDESTINARIAN.

LETTER I.

MY GOOD BROTHER,

I FIND that you are one of the Predestinarians of these latter days. You are assured of your own salvation, and look with pity on us poor, unlearned, Christians, who are left behind, and dare not think so highly of ourselves as you do. *We* take the *whole* word of God, as the rule of our faith and obedience: *you* take a *part* of it; and that part you interpret, in such a way of your own, as to endanger all the rest. *We* are taught, as plainly as words can teach us, *to make our calling and election sure.* But why should we do so, if our election, like your's, is *sure* already? If you can once bring yourself to think that you *stand,* you are safe; whereas the Apostle lets me know, that I am, from that moment, in danger; and accordingly bids me *take heed lest I fall.* But no sins can make *you* fall; because God is so partial, that, in favour to you and some others, he distinguishes between the sin and the sinner, and sees not the one for the sake of the other: whereas I am told, that *the soul that sinneth, it shall die;* and that there is *tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil,* without distinction of persons. How strange is it, that you and I

should find in the same Scripture two such different religions! What will unbelievers say? Will they not say, that we are both mad? I am as well assured that I shall be saved as you are; but I am not assured on your principles. You will be saved in preference to others: I humbly hope to be saved *even as others.* I am no where taught in the Scripture, nor have I any private revelation of it, that my Christian baptism gave me any privilege, which baptism does not give to other Christians. I am assured, and I believe it, that *God is no respecter of persons;* whereas, with you, he is nothing else. So the Jews thought; and that they themselves were the persons respected. As such, they justified themselves, and despised all others, as sinners of the Gentiles; which opinion led them to their ruin. I never met with any persuasion which comes nearer to theirs than yours doth. But here you will say you are no Jew. The Jews hated Jesus Christ; but you love him. And I believe what you say. But do you love him *in sincerity?* Have you no reserves? Perhaps you have neither seen nor heard, and will not believe me, but will rather be angry with me, when I tell you, that the contempt, which was formerly shown to the *person* of Jesus Christ, is now shown to his *Church,* which is his body; and that, as his own death was the beginning of Christianity, so the death of his Church will be the end of it. When I speak of his Church, I mean that *ark* which is *now* on the waves of this troublesome world, towards a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness; I mean that *Church in the wilderness* which is now travelling to the Land of Promise; containing many enemies within the camp, and having many more without, who are all waiting for its destruction, and boasting that it is near at hand.

Your way of proving your election is also very weak, and will bear no examination. For what testimony have I but your own word; while your works (as we ignorant people understand them) speak a very different language? But you add, that it must be true because you *feel it;* and you say this ought to suffice. But it will not suffice; for it is the very witness which I am warned not to take; because, as it comes *from yourself,* it is not true; (see John v. 8.) and it opens a door to all manner of imposture and delusion. For if I am to believe what one man says of himself, why am I not to believe another? Some better rule, therefore, is wanting; and our Saviour himself tells me, that there must be *a second witness,* and that this must be the witness *of God,* in some shape or other: unless, therefore, a man can produce it, I am not bound to believe him. I shall still think, that the man, who is *his own witness,* is a false man, whether I can detect him or not. Here, neighbour, I have got you upon new ground, which, perhaps, you never saw before. But study your Bible better than you have done, and you will find that I am right, and that there is more error, and more *sorts* of error (in the world) than you have hitherto been aware of.

You and your companions think that the Gospel is in a very flourishing state: but I see and lament the contrary. I see much evil under the name and appearance of good. You think the age of imposture is past: and that Satan has laid aside his old devices. You see him with his robe of light *on*—I see the *wolf stript:* and whatever shape he may assume to deceive the ignorant, I pray daily and earnestly that the flock of Christ may be defended from him.

One more important question I must ask you. If, by your election, you mean that your final salvation is

determined; how then is God to judge the world? Are you to judge first, and is God to judge afterwards? Suppose that he and you should judge by two different rules; where are you then? Suppose you should put evil for good; (which has been a common mistake in all ages) will God follow your example? We are, therefore, bid *to judge nothing before the time;* till God, who alone is fit to judge, *shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness:* then shall strange things appear, now totally unexpected and unknown. Then the applauses of a mistaken world, and of a man's own false heart shall signify nothing. No praise shall be lasting, but that which cometh only from God.

I have now given you, with that truth and friendship, which you may expect from a brother, my three grand objections against your new law of *Predestination.* I do not, I cannot, receive it. First, because God is no respecter of persons: secondly, because no man can be admitted as his own witness: and thirdly, because God shall judge every man according to his works. These objections are so short and plain, that you must understand them. You cannot plead ignorance. Can you answer them? If you cannot, you should cease to prevent the right ways of the Lord; you should come down from your high thoughts, and serve God with me, in the good old humble way of faith, hope, and charity, which will never mislead you: and may God direct us both in the same, for the alone merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. So shall we be able *to stand in the evil day.* In which prayer I hope you will join with your faithful brother and humble servant,

PHILALETHES.

January 1, 1800.

LETTER II.

GOOD BROTHER,

If you can hear me with patience, I have something farther to communicate on the subject of my former letter, which it may be useful for you to know. Old spiritual divines formerly taught Christians how they might know whether they were of the number of God's elect, by the signs which attend the true children of God; which signs were genuine and unexceptionable; but would take up more room than this letter will allow. But let me tell you, Brother, I had much rather see the signs without the doctrine, than the doctrine without the signs; for the doctrine of predestination, on which you lay as much stress as if it were the one thing necessary to salvation, was never heard of in the Church till Christians amused themselves with raising perplexing questions out of the Scriptures, and disputed about many things to no profit; but it made no great noise till after the *Reformation;* when Christians disputed about every thing; and, after all, Christians may certainly be saved without troubling themselves about it. The Scriptures, which Timothy had known from a child, were able to make him *wise unto salvation;* but the difficult passages, from which your doctrine is drawn, were written long after. The secret counsels of God were revealed to St. Paul, for the sole purpose of reconciling the Jews to the calling of the Gentiles, which they could never bear to hear of;

nor could the Apostles themselves believe it, till they were compelled by the case of Cornelius and his fellow-converts. It makes no part of our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, which comprehends a perfect rule of the Christian life; nor has it a place in the Creed; so that we may certainly affirm, it is no article of *faith*. The Apostles taught it not on the day of Pentecost, when they made some thousands of new Christians. When the people asked them, "What they should do?" they answered, "Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." The truth is, the Jews, to whom they addressed themselves, were too much filled up with the opinion of their own election already. It was the *beam* which they should have *cast out of their own eye*, but would not; let Christians beware of their mistake.

Tell me, how comes it to pass, that predestination should be so necessary *now*, which was then so dangerous? It wanted rather to be preached down, than to be taught as necessary to salvation. This convinces me there must be with you, who so strongly recommend it, some fundamental mistake; whether we can point it out or not. It is to be feared, you impute to individuals that election spoken of in Scripture, which is meant of people, nations, or churches. As see the following texts: 1 Pet. i. 1, 2. 5. 13. Gen. xxv. 23. Acts x. 35. Now pray observe, this election comes first in order, and separates Christians from the world; but there is still a judgment to come, which will separate good Christians from bad Christians. They, who confound these two things, present election, and future judgment, do greatly err: and they, who teach others to confound them err more; as it will be understood

in that day, when the Searcher of hearts shall lay all things open. You say the Church of England is on your side; but the calling, spoken of in the 17th article, is of the former kind; that is, of Christian people *chosen out of mankind;* not of Christians out of Christians: besides, whatever it is, it is such as will consist with the general *promises* of God, made to all Christians. As such, we hold with it; and so may all sober people. You blame us and despise us, for not having assurance; but we have the assurance of *faith,* and the assurance of *hope;* and the Scripture teaches no other. But there are many in these days, who will be satisfied with nothing but inward revelations, and voices from Heaven.

I have heard you talk much about *doctrines* of *grace;* as if our doctrines were not of grace; but if we inquire what your doctrines of grace are, we shall find they are doctrines, to which none of the *means of grace* are necessary: and the promises of God follow the means he has appointed, which means of his cannot be had without his church; therefore schism has no greater support than in what you falsely call the doctrines of grace. Take away these, and our new church-makers have no ground to stand upon. You say the grace of God is free; understanding that it can act *with* the instituted means, or *without* them. So it can; for God is not bound by the laws by which he binds us. Grace, with respect to Him, the Giver, is free; but if we, therefore, think it is free to us, the receivers, we shall introduce that confusion under which grace itself will soon be lost; which is the thing Satan wishes to see.

Extraordinary commissions, and revelations from the Spirit of God, are always attended with extraordinary gifts; such as, speaking with tongues, gifts of

healing, miracles of various kinds. The man, who pretends to an extraordinary commission, and has it not, is one of the most dangerous men upon earth, whether he succeeds or not. If he succeeds, it is as an impostor; if he does not, he gives the enemies of the Lord occasion to blaspheme, and makes Christianity the scorn of the world, when he is detected. The false miracles of Papists gave advantage to Infidels abroad, till they extirpated the Gospel; and the pretensions of fanaticism will give the like advantage here, and produce the same effect. Even at this moment we are in a tremendous situation, and have a prospect before us, which cannot be viewed without horror. Without the Church of Christ the religion of Christ will never long subsist; and a Christian is very imperfectly instructed, unless he understands what perils are to be expected in the latter days; when the Church shall become so degenerate that men shall say, the Church of Christ is not his Church; it is under such bad regulation as a society, that they can make a better for themselves. They shall make sport with its corruptions and its misfortunes; over which wise and good men will rather weep and lament (I would to God they all did so!) as Christ shed tears over Jerusalem. In such tears, there is *true brotherly love, which needs no apology.*

With respect to the present moment, in particular, if the doctrines of *Calvin* are increased of late, as reported, it is to be feared an *enemy* is at the bottom more than we know of. The Church is so calumniated and exposed on all sides, as if there were some latent design on foot to ruin it. Calvinism is a convenient engine against the government; perhaps the most convenient of all others; and will be promoted, for that end, even by those who have no religion at all.

If our enemies at home or abroad can destroy us, they will not be nice in the choice of the instruments. That which destroyed it once may destroy it again, and will, unless the Church be supported in this critical time against their assaults. Let us remember what a good man once said, "If the King supports the Church, the Church will support the King, and God will support both." Thus it will be, unless the time be now come, when all are to perish in one common ruin; which may God forbid; and I trust you will join in this prayer with your Christian friend,

PHILALETHES.

February, 1800.

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT

ON A

SUBJECT OF PRESENT CONCERN.

1776.

Under the cloak of Whiggism are concealed factions, which, if suffered to gain ground, would prove no less dangerous to the House of Hanover, than to the Church and Monarchy.

Dr. Jablonski's Letter to the King of Prussia, dated London, March 17th, 1711.

THE situation of our public affairs at this time may have opened the minds of people to receive those friendly informations, which they would have rejected some years ago as the insinuations of an enemy; it is therefore now a duty incumbent on those who would preserve as well as restore the peace of this kingdom, to take this opportunity of reminding the government, that episcopacy ought, according to the laws of God, and the rights of Englishmen, in the great charter of this country, to have been settled in the American

Colonies above an hundred years ago; and had likewise a political as well as a religious claim to be protected against all other interests, as congenial and friendly to the British government. But instead of this it has been left under every possible disadvantage. All attempts made by good men, either here or in America, to introduce episcopacy, have either been coldly neglected by those in power, or purposely defeated; and this, either by silent artifice, or clamorous opposition. And why? Because the Presbyterians would be disobliged. But now this paroxysm of moderation is come to a crisis, we may have sense and spirit to inquire at last, who the Presbyterians are, and why it is of such great consequence not to disoblige them? They are Calvinists by profession, and Republicans in their politics, who never can side with kingly government, but are of the same opinion with *Hugh Peters*, that the office of a king is *useless, chargeable*, and *dangerous;* and that all kings, especially the best, are to be *blackened as much as possible*, to bring about a Republican Revolution. When it serves their turn, they will affect to be in the interest of the government, and yet never fail to oppose it, if its establishment is of service to any party but themselves. They sided with William, but it was for the sake of ruining the episcopacy of Scotland; they favoured the Hanoverian succession, but it was out of hatred to Queen Anne, who had favoured the Church of England. And having now nothing to oppose but the Hanover family on the throne, they have at last taken up arms against that, and will carry on a war against the authority, the commerce, and the honour of this country, as long as they have the means of rebellion in their hands; for this has been a Presbyterian war from the beginning as certainly as that in 1641; and

accordingly the first firing against the King's troops was from a *Massachuset* meeting-house.

These are the people, whom it hath been the ruling policy of this government *not to disoblige* for almost a hundred years past; and now they are justly raised up to scourge us for our folly, by bringing upon us a most expensive war, exposing us to the attempts of our natural enemies, and hazarding the very existence of the British empire. The rule has been, *let us not encourage episcopacy in the colonies, lest we offend the Presbyterians, and they turn against us.* So the Jews said, *lest the Romans come and take away our place and nation;* for which treacherous policy, the Romans, by the just judgment of God, were made the instruments of their punishment, and brought to pass all those things, against which they were securing themselves by a wicked and foolish timidity. God forbid that the issue should be any thing like to this in our own case; but no wise or good man, who considers what is past, and is used to compare events with their causes, can wonder if the fruitless cries of our episcopal brethren in America, who have been almost afraid to utter their voice, while their enemies have been indulged to the uttermost in all their unreasonable clamours, should at last bring down some signal misfortune on those, who on so many occasions have refused to hear them. God knows where the chief blame is to be laid; whether the State or the Clergy have been most in fault. When *Herring* was Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop *Sherlock* of London desired his concurrence in a petition to the Throne, for leave to consecrate suffragans (Bishops without sees) for America; but was answered, that he would have no hand in any proceedings that might give offence to our dissenting brethren: on which Dr.

Sherlock is said to have replied, that he had always heard the Church would be in danger when his Grace should be at the head of it, and now he found the suspicion verified. In the late excellent Dr. *Secker*, the Church of England had a sincere friend, who endeavoured both in word and deed to promote episcopacy in America: and if the measure had then succeeded, it would have given a seasonable check to the growth of the rebellion, which has since broke out, by raising the spirits of the episcopal party, and adding influence to those good principles of obedience and loyalty, which never fail to thrive under episcopal government; but with what scorn and violence were his pious attempts treated by Dr. *Mayhew*, a dissenting orator in the Colonies, and the furious author of the *Confessional* at home! And now we understand the views, with which the Dissenters have kept up a clamour against American episcopacy: the Colonies were to throw off their dependence on the mother-country, and form themselves into a Republic of United Provinces, under the arbitrary power of the Hancocks, the Adams's, and the other sovereigns of the Congress; while the poor, loyal, episcopal party, the *Issachar* the new, as they have long been of the old world, were to be dragooned into submission under Presbyterian taxers and task-masters. This is the end to be accomplished in America, if they can support themselves in what they have undertaken; and when we are wasted and weakened with emigrations, additional taxes, and all the consequences of a civil war, our domestic Republicans, who have been their managers here in the whole business from the beginning, will have a strong party there to assist them, when matters shall be ripe for overturning the constitution at home. Then will our religion be new modelled,

till the experiments of reforming-chemistry shall reduce it to a *caput mortuum;* and all the power and wealth of the state shall fall into the merciless hands of Republican usurpation; till the constitution of this country, fermenting with heterogeneous mixtures, shall undergo a total dissolution, and furnish the materials for a new form of existence at the arbitration of some foreign power. When *Cassandra* said what would come of it, the people were infatuated, and understood her not; but now the Greeks are descended from the Trojan horse in broad day-light, he must be worse than an idiot who cannot read their intentions in their actions, and will not provide for his own security. Lest we should forget the share the Presbyterians have had in the present troubles, our memories have very lately been refreshed by the production of Dr. *Price*. Whence do all these seditious pieces originate but from the Dissenters? Is not Dr. *Price* a Dissenter? And what is the design of his pamphlet? Is it not plainly calculated to make the government odious; to dispirit all Englishmen by representing to them the desperate state of their affairs; and to justify the Americans in their rebellion, by shifting the cause from the principles of positive law, and the common rights of possession, by which only it must be tried, to those other visionary principles of Republican enthusiasts, who confound the freedom of human action with the authority of civil government, and make every man his own king, pope, and chancellor, by the great charter of human nature, to be found among the archives of the moon, and interpreted by the Earl of S——e, and his Presbyterian sectaries? Such is the plan of our Dissenters at home, who go on to insult the government without molestation, and have a noisy multitude always ready to magnify the wisdom of every

Dissenting orator; while the loyal Church of England party are under oppression and persecution from the Dissenters abroad, and are obliged to fly over hither to the seat of government, for a little present peace and protection. But the worst part of our story is yet to come; and a story it is which hath been taken up by Whigs and Dissenters as a ground for clamour, while but little hath been said by those who have most reason to complain: for that same government, which for so many years hath adopted the tender policy of obliging the Dissenters at the expence of its own friends in the Church of England, has made no scruple of extending its favour to popish episcopacy in the American colonies. In July 1766, a popish Bishop went over from London to Quebec, by permission of this government; and popery is now licensed by the crown of England in that part of the world, where a protestant Bishop of the Church of England has never been tolerated! *Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth!* for neither the one nor the other was ever witness to such an instance of injustice and absurdity. Papists are licensed; Presbyterians are obliged; where the religion of the crown and government is not tolerated! Never let us wonder if strange effects arise from such unprecedented œconomy. It is therefore hoped by the best friends of both countries, that the charm which hath bound us will now at last be dissolved; that the grievance under which the Church hath so long groaned, and for which the State is now suffering in common with it, may be redressed at a proper, that is, at the first opportunity! and then we shall have reason to expect some quietness and loyalty in the British colonies. *God is not mocked; what a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, be learned ye that are judges of the*

Earth: oppress not your friends out of favour to your enemies; for your friends may be lost by your neglect, but your enemies will never be gained by your indulgence. All wise men have been long acquainted with this maxim: and it is now written in letters of blood, for all true Englishmen to read and consider. We who are of the people can consider it only to lament it: they who are in power and authority may consider it to a better purpose: and may the Author of all good give them grace and wisdom to do it effectually!

The above thoughts are written in the true spirit of Dr. South; if not in part in his very words; and every true Member of the Church of England will readily concur with them.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

PROTESTANT DISSENTERS,

AT THEIR LATE MEETING

AT STOWMARKET, IN SUFFOLK.

THE Protestant Dissenters having entered into a confederacy, in opposition to the present *municipal* laws, or laws by which persons *hold offices of trust* in this kingdom; with such declarations as tend to abridge the freedom of voting in parliament, and disturb the public peace; we beg leave to offer a few observations on the principles they profess, and the measures they have adopted, as they have opened them to the public in their late *Resolutions* at *Stowmarket.*

In the beginning of this century, when parties ran high, under the reigns of Queen Anne and George the First, they were distinguished by the names of *high Church* and *low Church;* but the times are changed; and the Dissenters now come forward on the new ground of Scepticism and Infidelity; the former of which is

adverse to all authority in government, as the object of the latter is to destroy the Church. Clergymen will naturally consult for the security of our religion; but the laity are here equally concerned, for the safety of the State, and the freedom of the House of Commons. The first resolution of the Dissenters of Suffolk is as follows:

I. *That* Liberty, *civil and religious, is the unalienable right of every good citizen.*

REMARK.

Religious liberty consists in worshipping God according to our consciences. This liberty the Dissenters enjoy to the full, without any disturbance. *Civil* liberty is a liberty *under the restraints of law,* and can be no other, in any civil society. A liberty of *being trusted,* (which is here intended) is a liberty which does not exist, because by the constitution of every country, it must depend upon *approved qualifications,* which the Government is to fix for its own security, on the universal principle of self-defence.

II. *That when perfect liberty is enjoyed, all* good citizens *of every denomination of religion, are uncontrouled in their sentiments, writings, and modes of worship; and equally eligible in point of right to all offices of trust, honour, and emolument.*

REMARK.

Citizens may be *good men,* without being *good citizens;* because in a civil sense no man is *good* but he who submits to the laws, and has legal qualifications. It is no reflection upon a Protestant Dissenter, to say he is not *good* in this sense, and so not *equally eligible in point of right:* for there is no right in civil society where there is not the qualification required by law.

We think, moreover, that there is not the right of equity in the present case; because Protestant Dissenters who left the *religion established*, and the *offices of trust* which go along with it, took liberty of *conscience* as an *equivalent*; and, therefore, cannot consistently with justice, claim *both*; for then they would be better off than their fellow-subjects, yea even than the King himself, who cannot hold his Crown without conforming to the Religion established.

III. *That the Protestant Dissenters of this realm hold no principles inimical to the peace and order of society, but are* confessedly *loyal and deserving subjects.*

REMARK.

The word *loyal* is applicable only to those who are voluntarily subject to the *laws*, and well affected to the constitution. Now as the State and the Church are here united into one constitution, and the safety of both depends upon their union, it is not possible the Dissenters should be *loyal*, that is, well affected to the constitution. Their present attempt demonstrates the contrary; and we suppose it is not forgotten, how lately the King and the two Houses of Parliament, and the property of the nation, were all brought into imminent danger, at the time of the riots in London, when many thousands of disorderly people were headed by a person of the Dissenting persuasion. Whether or not, any of the present popular writers among the Dissenters were secret abettors of that confusion, we do not take upon us to say: but that the revolt of America was promoted by their avowed writing is undeniable.

IV. *That by the Corporation and Test Acts they have long been* deprived *of an important and unques-*

tionable civil right, viz. *that of being eligible to serve their King and country in many offices of public utility and confidence; and, by proscription, are* branded with a mark of infamy, *and exposed to severe penalties, as dangerous foes to the State.*

REMARK.

When a man *forfeits a right* by his own *choice,* it is improper to say he is *deprived of it.* This is the case with the Dissenters, who take liberty of conscience instead of the qualifications required by the laws, and they cannot forfeit their right, and have their right at the same time. There is no expression in the laws, that we know of, which *brands* Protestant Dissenters *with infamy:* nor doth it follow, that because a man is not *selected* and *rewarded,* he is, therefore, branded with infamy; for if that were true, the Church abounds with honest men, who are to be accounted infamous, because they are not preferred and exalted. If we, of the Church, do not look upon the Dissenters as infamous by their profession, which we are far from doing, why should they throw out such words as, with unwary readers, may bring suspicion upon themselves?

V. *That by these acts, an ordinance of the Christian Religion, instituted by its Divine Founder, solely with a* spiritual view, *is shamefully prostituted to* civil purposes, *and made, oftentimes, to the irreligious and profane, a mere passport to posts of secular power, dignity and profit.*

REMARK.

From the abuse of any thing against the use of it, there lies no argument. For the safety of the State, it should be known *what Church* a man is of. We are to suppose he is of that, with which he freely commu-

nicates; and the Law leaves the act as spiritual as before. It is only the wickedness of self-interested men, which perverts the use of it, as it doth of *Oaths;* without the security of which society cannot be carried on; and he who trifles with an oath (as is to be feared thousands of profane people do) may be in as great danger as the unspiritual communicant. Dissenters have been known to make as *profane* a *passport* of the Sacrament, as other people; and their temporising in this matter, made it necessary to pass a bill in the year 1711 against *occasional conformity:* in which practice some of their friends defended them, while others, on whom they most depended, forsook them.

VI. *That feeling our rights as citizens, and our obligations as Christians, we are determined to adopt every* constitutional measure *apparently calculated to procure the repeal of these acts, with* firmness and perseverance.

REMARK.

We do not see how it can consist with the laws, or agree with the safety of any constitution, that *committees* should form themselves for *civil purposes*, without a *commission* from the Government under which they live. We judge this a breach of the peace, to which *Liberty of conscience in Religion* does not extend; and we think it of very dangerous tendency, that men should form themselves into one body, *throughout the Nation*, with design to act *against the Laws*. If the English Constitution is defective in this respect, they who are *with the laws* must purchase what security they can for themselves by a *similar Association of the different Counties and Dioceses;* and this measure should be *strongly* recommended, and

seasonably entered upon, with *firmness and perseverance.*

VII. *That at an æra distinguished for its liberal and* enlightened sentiments, *when we behold a neighbouring nation, which has long groaned under a most arbitrary government, as with one voice asserting the* rights of equal liberty, *and nobly sacrificing the prejudices of religion and habits of despotic rule, to the claims of reason and humanity; and when* even Roman Catholics *are freely declaring, that diversity of religious opinion is no bar to* a mutual participation *of all the* privileges *of society; we cannot but hope that in a nation, long priding itself in an unrivalled attachment to justice and liberty, our moderate expectations will not be disappointed.*

REMARK.

The state of affairs in France is here much misrepresented, and a miserable *spectacle of Anarchy* is held forth as a pattern of *light and liberty.* The liberty there prevailing was invented by *Infidels* and *Atheists:* and *Catholics* submit to it, not by choice, but *by necessity:* How a *mutual participation* of *privileges* can subsist, where the Clergy are deprived of their Tithes, held by chartered right from the first ages of Christianity, we do not understand. When one man robs another of half his possessions, it may be said that there is a *mutual participation;* but the words thus applied, are terms of mockery. If the Government in England is already free, the proceedings of men under the despotic Government of France can be no fit example for us to follow.

VIII. *That we are determined on our parts, and recommend it to all our brethren, to shew a* decided pre-

ference at the ensuing general election, *to the interest of such candidates as are approved friends* to the cause of *civil and religious liberty.*

REMARK.

Candidates are here intended to be threatened with exclusion, unless they adopt the Dissenters' *Cause;* which will lead them to act against the constitution; but we apprehend few Gentlemen of liberal minds or ample fortunes will choose to come into the house with this mark of servility upon them.

IX. *That we are gratefully sensible of the zeal and ability which has been exerted by the Committee of Dissenters in London, to obtain the repeal of the obnoxious statutes; and while we express our obligations to* Edward Jeffries, Esq. *their Chairman, and to the Committee through him for their eminent past services, we confide in their perseverance until the desired object shall be obtained, assuring them that we shall be happy to concur in every* peaceable measure *adopted to secure it.*

X. *That the thanks of this meeting be transmitted to* Henry Beaufoy, Esq. *for the distinguishing ability and energy with which he has repeatedly asserted the rights of the Dissenters, in the House of Commons; and to* Sir Henry Houghton, Bart. the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, William Smith, Esq. *and all the other members of parliament who have voted for the repeal of the test and corporation acts.*

REMARK.

The Gentlemen thus honoured with the thanks of this meeting, may be very worthy persons in their own

private families; but men fall into their public opinions more from custom, connexion, and education, than from reason or religion. The same inducements may prevail with *some* to plead for the supposed *rights of Dissenters*, as prevail with *others* to plead for the *doctrines of Jews* and *Mahometans*. As to the Right Hon. *Charles James Fox*, a late publication informs us, that he was a professed Unbeliever when he was a school-boy; and the date of his *reformation since that time*, is not known to us.

XI. *That the chairman of this meeting, and the deputies from the different congregations, be a committee*, for the purpose of co-operating with any other public bodies of Dissenters in the kingdom, *that have united in the pursuit of the same laudable object, and that copies of these resolutions be transmitted to Edward Jeffries, Esq. and the chairman* of every other associated body of Dissenters.

XII. *That the chairman, and any five of the committee*, be empowered, *at any future time, to call a general meeting of the deputies from the different congregations in this county.*

REMARK.

As these articles give *Power* to hold *civil meetings* for the pursuit of a *civil object*, we apprehend they exceed the Act of Toleration, and so are without Authority of Law, and consequently against the peace of the kingdom. Of this measure, therefore, the Honourable House of Commons, and Gentlemen skilled in the Law, and all *good citizens*, who wish *to preserve the peace we at present enjoy*, should consider in due time. For if this should be neglected, a *National meeting* of

the Dissenters may soon follow, when OTHER RESOLUTIONS, not now expected, may be agreed upon.

Quere. Whether an assembly, which meets with a declared intention to change the Laws of the kingdom, or to procure a change of the Laws of the kingdom, is not to be deemed an *unlawful assembly*, and, as such, within the cognizance of the civil magistrate?

1790.

A

PROPOSAL

FOR A

REFORMATION OF PRINCIPLES.

N° I.

THE late institution of Sunday Schools having been so well supported by the rich and honourable of this kingdom, and so well received by the poor, we are encouraged to hope that some similar plan will be adopted for preventing the corruption which prevails among scholars, and persons of the higher orders of life, from evil *principles*, and what may be called *a monopoly of the press*. We have long been witnesses to the artifices and assiduity of sectaries, republicans, socinians, and infidels. These may differ very much from one another in their opinions; but if any mischief is to be aimed at the church or its doctrines; if any popular lure is to be thrown out for the raising of a party, and promoting some public disturbance, they never fail to make a common cause of it; and a large body of men, animated by one spirit, and acting in one direction, must necessarily act with weight and effect. Let us observe what *they do*, and it will hence appear what *we ought to do*.

About forty years ago, when some promising schemes had failed, *a Monthly Review* of religion and literature was set on foot; the object of which was to lessen the influence of all such works as should be written in defence of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, by defaming either the abilities

or the integrity of their authors, omitting their arguments, and exhibiting unconnected scraps, from which the public must form an unjust idea: and, on the other hand, by praising the parts and literature of loose, dangerous, and fanatical writers, blanching their bigotry, and presenting their productions to the best advantage.

This undertaking, contrived by some out of malignity, and encouraged by others through inadvertence and curiosity, must in so long a time, by possessing itself of the avenues to public opinion, have had a pernicious effect on the *Principles* and *Learning* of the age. By another like artifice, some useful works, of established reputation, have been taken up, and republished by insidious Editors, with omissions and interpolations of their own, for the purpose of misrepresenting public characters, and dispersing unsound opinions. Many readers are apprised of what hath happened to the *Biographia Britannica*, under the management of an Editor, who is a person of influence among the Dissenters; and it hath been hinted, that a plan is in *embryo*, of setting forth the English language after the manner of the great work *de la Crusca*, by dissenting Editors; in which case, such authorities will be admitted as are proper to insinuate into students the new doctrines and dangerous opinions of the conventicle. This would be a great stroke, and therefore the alarm should be given in time. For which purpose, we request the readers of this paper to peruse Mr. *Burke's* account of that *literary cabal* in *France*, which, by poisoning the fountains of literature, of late effected the destruction of their church and government. See *Reflections*, p. 165, &c. The same practices, and with the same views, are now carrying on in this country; and the party have been heard to

boast, that their purposes will be accomplished without force of arms, by the effect of the press, in giving *new lights* to the people *. A reverend and learned Divine, now the head of a College in *Oxford*, in a sermon lately preached before that University, observed of the same party that "they command almost every channel of information, and have the direction of almost every periodical publication."

That no opportunity may be lost, novels have been written, to insinuate under that disguise the errors of heresy and infidelity; as people, if they were to poison children, would mix arsenic with their sugar-plums.

Many pious and learned, and some great men, dispersed about the kingdom, as well laity as clergy, have long seen and lamented the evils here complained of, and wished for a remedy. The first object, therefore, of this Proposal is, to bring some of these together into small parties, as time and place will admit, and promote a farther consultation, by a correspondence between them. All *particulars* will dispose them under the three following questions: 1. What is to be done? 2. With what support? and 3. By what persons?

If it be asked *what* is to be *done?* we have an answer ready, while we observe *what* the adversary is *doing*. If *false* accounts are given of authors and their works, to *deceive* the public, let a *true* account be given, to *undeceive* them. If some old books are republished in a spurious form, to mislead the readers of them, let other good and useful pieces be either republished, or brought out to the light: and let students in divinity

* We have heard it reported, that the sum of 10,000*l.* was subscribed, for dispersing that mischievous and worthless piece of Thomas Paine; which in virtue of this liberal support was found in pot-houses and petty assemblies in all parts of the country.

be furnished, at a cheap rate, with such *compilations* as they may read without *danger* to their *principles*. Little cheap pamphlets might also be dispersed among the common people: and such might be found, as would be of great *effect*, though *little known*.

If it should farther be asked, by what means, and by what persons, all this is to be effected? We answer: as all other things of the kind are; by the counsel of the wise; the money of the opulent; and the activity of men who are fit for business; of whom, we presume, many will be found in our Universities, and among the parochial clergy, and in the Inns of Court; when they shall be enquired after by their friends, and encouraged by their superiors.

We add nothing farther to alarm or allure our readers. With the blessing of God, the design will grow and prosper, even to the surprise of those who are the first feeble instruments. To him, therefore, we recommend it and ourselves, under an assurance, that all they who are zealous for his honour, and would rescue their country from the prevailing tyranny of a self-elected literary cabal over our minds, which is worse than any that can be over our persons and estates, will take this Proposal into consideration. And let it not be urged, as it probably will, that what can be done for the purpose in view, is already done by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*. We are sensible of, and thankful for, the good which accrues daily to the religious interest of this kingdom, from the pious and extensive efforts of that respectable body; and have good reason to expect the hearty concurrence of many of its members in their private capacity; but it must have appeared from what has been said, that such a Proposal as the present cannot be brought to effect, but by due recourse to several

expedients, which do not lie within the limits of their general plan.

LONDON, *Jan.* 1, 1792.

☞ Something farther will be laid before the public, when the gentlemen who now have this business under their consideration, shall be ready to offer it.

N° II.

A SEQUEL TO THE PROPOSAL FOR A REFORMATION OF PRINCIPLES.

SOME Gentlemen, who are undoubted friends to our civil and ecclesiastical constitution as by law established, having farther considered the state of things as set forth in a late *Proposal for a Reformation of Principles;* and seeing how many ill-affected and seditious associations are formed and forming amongst us, to the corruption of religion, learning, and good manners; the disturbing of the public peace, the endangering of life and property, and of every thing that can be dear to Englishmen and Christians, do resolve, to the utmost of their power, to take such measures, in a literary way only, as shall be thought most conducive to the preservation of our *religion, government,* and *laws.* And they do most earnestly and affectionately call upon all persons, who are disposed as they are, to assist them herein; as conceiving that there is not, at this time, an object of greater importance than that which they are now recommending to the attention and support of their countrymen.

For the promoting of which, they judge it necessary, in the first place, to provide that a just and impartial

account be given of all considerable works in divinity, literature and politics; with a faithful history of facts and occurrences in Europe, as well literary as civil, military and political. For the compiling of which, under the form of a periodical review, gentlemen of the first character have offered their services, with no view but that of acting faithfully for the benefit of their country; duly considering how grossly it hath been abused and imposed upon by false and interested reports of things and persons: insomuch that we have reason to wonder and be thankful, that the times have not thereby been rendered even worse than we find them.

They judge it another necessary measure to publish and disperse works of such good principles, as may enlighten those who are uninformed, or rectify those who have been falsely taught; and of such excellence, as may deservedly engage their attention: of which a collection is already forming, to be approved and adopted by this society; who will repeatedly have recourse to the same expedient on every future occasion.

This society will consist of three classes, all uniting their powers and employing their interest to the same great and laudable effect, under the patronage and inspection of a committee: that is to say;

1. Of acting members, who will be responsible for the monthly publication of a review, &c. and of their occasional assistants.

2. Of a committee, who will meet at regular times for the transaction of business, and to superintend such publications as the society shall direct.

3. Of annual subscribers, at not less than one guinea each, to be paid at the time of subscribing. Which money so collected will be applied, under the

direction of the committee, to the general purposes of the society: and when the subscribers shall amount to a sufficient number, and a competent sum shall be subscribed, the society will begin to act.

All persons of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, who wish to concur in the design of this society, are requested to direct their letters to *Messrs. Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church-Yard,* to be laid before the next meeting; and the said *Messrs. Rivingtons* are also empowered to receive subscriptions and benefactions, and to register the names of the subscribers.

The members present at this meeting have the satisfaction of being informed, that similar meetings will be held at *Oxford* and *Bath;* and we trust, when this plan shall have been farther made known, at many other considerable places in *Great Britain* and *Ireland:* and they observe with pleasure how nearly their design, started by a few private persons about six months ago, accords with his Majesty's most gracious intention for promoting the peace and prosperity of this kingdom in his late proclamation.

LONDON, *June* 11, 1792.

(N° III.)

WHEN the two preceding numbers of this Proposal were offered to the Public, it was justly apprehended that a more impartial account of literary publications, though essential to the plan of the Society, would give more trouble than any other object that they had in view; but that difficulty is now in a great measure removed: and though the British Critic doth not pretend to perfection, or to so near an approach to perfection, as it may attain hereafter, its claim to candour and impartiality has never been disputed.

But there are other objects in view, which should by no means be neglected. When the principles of a nation are changed, as hath been too much the case in this nation within the present century, it is a certain sign that there hath been some change in the studies of those persons, who are educated to learned professions: and if so, there can be no prospect of any amendment till a new and better course of study shall take place. Of this the society being fully persuaded, have determined to collect, and with the assistance and interest of all good men, whom they conjure to give attention to the case, will recommend to young students (especially students in divinity) such tracts as may furnish their minds with good principles, and with such sober and strong reasons as may (with the Divine Blessing) enable them not only to maintain their own ground for themselves, but to recover to the truth those who have departed from it. They apprehend, that without this step, all the good that may be done by other means will be slow and precarious. Sermons upon single texts are found to do little good to those, who never learned their Catechism; such persons having no rule of judgment in their minds to distinguish between good and evil. The British Critic, if honestly and impartially conducted, may serve in its department to keep us from growing worse; but it cannot reach to the root of the evil. Learned as we are in the present age, there are many and great subjects in which we are to begin again. And though corruption is powerful and infectious, and falsehood is overbearing; let us hope the opportunity is not lost. None of us can say how soon it may be: and therefore we should work while some day-light is left, lest the night overtake us. By some such expedient as that now proposed, we may

be furnished with a new generation of skilful critics, who may prevail to the preservation of the age in which they shall live; unless the time is come, when the Light we have so long neglected and abused shall be removed from us: which may God, in his infinite mercy, avert!

The first thing wanting is, a general and correct idea of the Christian plan; which is furnished in an incomparable piece by the great Lord Verulam. We would next attend to the truth of Revelation, as proved by its proper evidences: which have never been laid down more clearly and briefly, than by that eminent controversialist Mr. *C. Leslie*, in his *Short Method with the Deists*, and his *Truth of Christianity demonstrated*.

Errors concerning the nature of civil government endanger the peace of mankind, and were never more current than at present: that subject, therefore, demands our attention; and for this purpose we prefer a discourse on the English government, extracted from the late *Roger North*, Esq. an eminent writer of the Guildford family; who goes through the subject in a clear and masterly way; and having been a lawyer by profession, his judgment may be liable to less exception. The late *Soame Jenyns* having well exposed the absurdity of some modern false ideas of civil government; we would extract this piece from his works, if it may be permitted: and to this we mean to add a sermon from the works of the late Bishop *Horne*, on the *Origin of Civil Government*; who has considered the subject, as it ought always to be considered by divines of the Church of England. A wild sectarian spirit would not prevail so much as it does if the sin and danger of schism were better understood by the learned, and more diligently taught among the people. Nothing can be more excellent upon the subject than

the three letters of the Rev. *W. Law* against *Bishop Hoadley*, in what was called the Bangorian controversy: which is now in a manner forgotten, though every clergyman ought to be acquainted with it; for it was an occurrence of great concern, not to the peace of this church only, but to the very being and subsistence of Christianity in the world. To these letters we would add an *Essay on the Nature and Constitution of the Church;* with some extracts from Mr. *Leslie*, on the same subject.

We shall speak a great and interesting truth, if we affirm, that no man will understand rightly the nature of God, unless he has a proper knowledge of himself, that is, of the real state of human nature, and the limitation of its powers. This subject was never treated to better effect, than by the late Dr. *Ellis* of *Dublin*. His book on the *Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation, not from Reason and Nature*, hath happily convinced many readers: who knew not how to think justly of God or themselves, till they were taught by this author. His work being too large and diffuse for this collection, an abridgment of it has long been ardently wished for: and it is now happily discovered, that his principles were laid down by himself in two sermons, the substance of which he contracted into one discourse; of which we have been favoured with a copy; and to this we would add another discourse on the same subject, which rectifies a text of the Scriptures, a false interpretation of which has given countenance and currency to most of the modern deistical mistakes about nature and reason.

Infidelity having been very busy of late years, under the new name of *Unitarianism*, the people should be properly informed upon this subject, and the arguments in favour of the fundamental doctrines of the

Church of England should be well understood, in opposition to such gainsayers. For this end we shall add from the Rev. Mr. *Norris's* decisive Treatise on *Faith and Reason*, the last chapter; in which the argument is summed up; and shall subjoin to it, two treatises adopted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the first, *A Preservative against the Publications of the Socinians*; the second, *the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*: which is now out of print, except in the small edition distributed by the society. It was little suspected in the last century, that the time would come, when the fabulous idolatry of heathens should be openly preferred to the Gospel in a Christian country. But it hath now actually been done in this country by individual authors, and is done by the nation itself in another. It will not be superfluous nor impertinent if we subjoin some anonymous *Remarks on the Growth of Heathenism among modern Christians.*

No divine of this church ever studied his profession with better opportunities, nor with more diligence and success, than the late excellent and amiable *Bishop Horne*: we are informed, that in the papers he has left behind him, there are such rules and directions in many separate pieces, for the study of divinity, with such an apparatus of theological matter, collected from all the sources of learning, as would of themselves, if put together, form an inestimable treasure for the improvement of young students in divinity. Some of these we propose to add, if it may be permitted.

It is our intention to publish the whole collection, with the names * of the subscribers prefixed; and we trust it will appear, that the times, bad as they are, can

* The society, on farther consideration, deemed it not necessary to solicit a subscription for this collection.

still exhibit a large and respectable association of gentlemen and clergy, who will show by their patronage of this publication, that they are desirous and ready, so to think, and so to teach, and so to live, as to draw down the protection of Heaven, for the preservation and increase of true learning and true religion.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE reader of these three papers should be informed, that the first draught of the plan laid down in them has received some considerable alterations; partly from choice, and partly from necessity; but it was thought better to reprint the papers, as they were published, than to give new trouble by such annotations and explanations, as are not necessary to the main design.

January, 1795.

A

SMALL WHOLE-LENGTH

OF

DR. PRIESTLEY,

FROM HIS PRINTED WORKS:

OR

A FREE ACCOUNT,

(IN CONSEQUENCE OF A FREE INQUIRY)

OF

HIS STYLE,	HIS LOGIC,
HIS POLITICS,	HIS RELIGION,
HIS FEELINGS,	HIS PHILOSOPHY.

CONCLUDING WITH AN ANALYSIS,

AND

AN APPENDIX

Of Extracts from the Writings of Dr. Priestley, which were read in Court at the Assizes at Warwick.

MENS CUJUSQUE, IS EST QUISQUE. CIC.

A

PREFATORY EPISTLE

TO THE

REVEREND MR. H——D.

DEAR SIR,

THE celebrated Dr. *Priestley* having long presented to the world a character new and curious in its kind, you expressed a desire, that a portrait of him might be taken from his works, and given to the public upon a small scale.

In consequence of what had passed, the writer of the following pages, having some acquaintance with the Doctor's publications, sat down to a sketch of his *whole-length;* which, being verified by proper authorities, may be considered as a piece *taken from the life.* He has employed some pains to make the *drawing* correct, and he hopes the *colours* will *stand:* that if the Doctor's writings should hereafter be scarce, (as it is conjectured they will be) people may know what he *was.* With the *outward tabernacle* of Dr. *Priestley* he has no concern; but with that Dr. *Priestley* only, which is to be found in books and pamphlets to a very great amount: *mens cujusque is est quisque:* and if the present *exhibition* of him to the connoisseurs, at the usual price of *one shilling* a-piece, shall furnish you (or nearly so) with the thing you wished for, and convey to the public a *just* idea at a *small* expence, I shall be happy, that in a time of leisure, while the town is empty, I could turn my pencil to the present subject.

What have you and I lived to see! a *staymaker* of *Thetford,* and a *Dissenting teacher* of *Birmingham,* called upon to take their share of the government in that city, which in the last age affected universal monarchy! Thus was *Babylon* once the mis-

tress of the world: but if we should go to look for it *now*, the Prophet tells us, we shall find *a nest of owls*. When you think on these things, you will not forget

Your affectionate Brother,

and humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

A

SMALL WHOLE-LENGTH

OF

DR. PRIESTLEY.

I. THE STYLE AND LEARNING OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

Of what kind soever our sentiments may be, on subjects of religion and literature, the manner in which they are delivered is of so much consequence, that when an author is spoken of, we generally enquire in the first place, *how he writes.* The work which first made Dr. *Priestley* more extensively known to the public, was his *History of Electricity.* Let any reader of judgment cast his eye over the preface to that history, and he will be shocked with the affectation and poverty of his diction. There is such a jumble of *scenes, prospects, objects* and *ideas,* as render his style boyish and ridiculous. The word *Views,* which occurs ten times in a few paragraphs, would never have been permitted to stand, if the writer had understood how to revise and correct his own language. We are told (p. 1.) of *pleasing objects according to all the genuine and universal principles of taste deduced from a knowledge of human nature*—of *objects throwing a pleasing idea upon scenes:* which is profound nonsense; though the author probably took it for fine writing.

When he produces himself as the champion of his party against Mr. *Burke,* the poor lame English which

he presents to the supreme critical eye of that learned gentleman, becomes more remarkable and offensive—*What I have more particularly replied to is what he has advanced,* &c. and again (p. 2.) *there is nothing extraordinary in this revolution having excited,* &c. In a plain unassuming person, of little education, such mistakes might be considered as vernacular oversights; but when they come from a teacher of eloquence, who writes books upon rhetoric, they take a very different character.

As to Dr. *Priestley's* skill in the learned languages, there is a vast appearance of it in his voluminous writings; but in the critical analysis of Greek and Latin, he is ill grounded and injudicious; insomuch that any well-trained scholar will soon find out that he was never put into proper possession of school-learning. The Bishop of St. *David's* (then Archdeacon of St. *Alban's*) charges him with gross blunders, even to the mistaking of a passage, *the sense of which was hardly to be missed at first sight by a school-boy in his second year of Greek.* (Tracts, p. 101.) When any man does his *best,* candour will be ready to make the most of him; but when such a person holds in contempt and defiance his adversaries, who are better learned, he has then no longer any claim upon our candour or politeness, but deserves to be held up to the public in his true colours; more especially, if any evil purpose is to be promoted amongst the ignorant and the disaffected by his pretensions to superior learning. None of Dr. *Priestley's* principles are more mischievous in their intention than his political: we shall therefore begin with a short sketch of his politics from his own writings.

II. THE POLITICS OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

His system is briefly this. To *gain clear ideas*, as he tells us, he supposes (in common with some higher authors who ought to have known better) a *state of nature*, in which every individual is possessed of *natural liberty*, part of which he resigns into a common stock, out of which arises that power of *directing the conduct of others*, which we call *government*. This scheme, even at first sight, must be false: because, out of liberty, nothing can arise but liberty: whereas government is *a power of restraining*, and power must arise out of power not out of liberty, for this is the antagonist of power; and accordingly, all those busy gentlemen who are now striving *against* government, call themselves the *friends of liberty*. The principle which dissolves government can never be the principle out of which it arises; and the case is so plain that a child may see it.

This absurdity, however, runs through all our author's politics; in which, as occasion requires, he substitutes *power* and *liberty* for one another. Thus doth he begin his fundamental definition:—*Political* liberty *consists in the* power *which the members of the state reserve to themselves of arriving at public offices*, &c. (Essay on the first Pr. of Gov. p. 9.) Here liberty is confounded with the power of governing; that is, of *restraining liberty*: and we reckon a writer who is loose in a definition, to be either cloudy in his understanding, or fraudulent in his intention; a swindler in reasoning, who takes up what he has not fairly purchased.

When the Doctor's principles are brought together and compared, the perplexity is obvious. He distin-

guishes (for *clearness*, as he observes) liberty into *political* and *civil*; making the latter a power over our *own* actions, and the former a power over the actions of *others*; that is, a power of *ruling*, and a power of not *being ruled*: which in effect leave all power *in equilibrio*; and so amount to nothing. His two sorts of *liberty* are evidently two sorts of *power*, which annihilate each other: and all this is *for clearness*.

He farther asserts (p. 12.) that "as *every man retains*, and can never be deprived of his *natural right* of relieving himself from all oppression; that is, from *every thing that has been imposed upon him without his own consent*; this must be *the only true and proper foundation* of all the governments subsisting in the world." Which means in plainer English, that the only proper foundation of government is the power of overturning government; which he calls *relieving ourselves from oppression*; and a power this is which may be turned against the ten commandments; for these having been *imposed upon us without our own consent*, (it being certain that we had no hand in the making of them) are consequently, by Dr. Priestley's rule, *an oppression*.

It is another of his *fundamental maxims*, that kings, senators and nobles are to all intents the *servants of the public*, and *accountable to the people*: (p. 23.) which principle, when transferred from the body civil to the body natural, asserts the headship of the feet and toes: which is very good sense when our meaning is to *turn the world upside down*. If it be our intention to overturn establishments, we must advance such principles as will promote the great work of decomposition. But decomposition, as we find by experience, is an experiment attended with some loss. When chemists undertake to analyze, a subtile prin-

ciple evaporates, which can never be restored; and this extends by analogy to other cases. It is easy to take a man to pieces; but life escapes in the experiment, and the man can never be put together any more. Every legal government is a composition, of which God, by his laws and his providence, makes himself a part; the animating part, which gives energy and effect to the whole. When this is lost, on a dissolution of the state, and of laws human and divine, it is not in the power of man to restore it. There may be a thing framed which will call itself a government; but it will have no authority nor stability, because it is built upon a loose bottom. Cruelty and revenge will take the place of penal, and robbery and sacrilege of distributive justice; and a thousand other evils will happen, which all good men will deprecate, because none but evil men can be gainers by them: and they only in appearance; for the whole is a deception and a phantom.

Our author's political casuistry is as curious as his principles. He has one measure for us and another for himself. In his letters to Mr. *Burke* he lays it down, that we have *no business to find fault with the French* for what they have thought proper to do in their own affairs, (p. 3.) But if it be a good rule to let our neighbours alone in managing for themselves, how comes it that the Doctor is so busy and so severe a critic upon the church of England, a society to which he does not belong? and why were he and his friends so zealous to celebrate the French revolution? Why is he, who is a stranger, at liberty to applaud and give his sanction to their proceedings: if we, who are also strangers, are not at liberty to censure them? It will never be a matter of indifference whether vice or virtue prevail in the world: the cause of the French,

in this view of it, is the cause of mankind. The Doctor and his friends obliged us to consider whether the French had done right or wrong, because they persuaded us to do the same thing at home; and their motions toward it alarmed the people at Birmingham, and occasioned all those disturbances, the causes of which are as well understood by the Doctor himself as by any person in this kingdom.

The French nation were at liberty, he says, to *better their condition* without consulting us. But here again, the Doctor's casuistry is as loose as before: for no man can be justified in bettering his condition, unless he does it *by lawful means*. If a man betters his condition out of the *property* and *lives* of his fellow-subjects, he is a felon and a murderer; and, as Dr. *Franklin* rightly observed, it makes no difference whether this be done by a *single person* or by a *larger gang*, or by one half of a nation against the other half.

There may be some worthy persons, who, although they look up to Dr. Priestley as a great political casuist, are not above being admonished. Let them consider calmly, what is in a manner self-evident, that all *vice* is from the *liberty* of human action; all *virtue* from the *restraints* either of law or conscience. So far as restraint is from the law of God, it cannot be opposed. But of this law, no account is made by Dr. *Priestley* or his followers: and if they are plotting to overturn establishments, as they openly profess, it is proper they should keep it out of sight; for the moment it is introduced, all their fairy edifices fall to pieces like a house of cards. That man must be an atheist or an infidel, who forgets that there is a foundation of law, by which all men are bound, in their relation to God, and to one another; and that

the ten commandments are made for men in a state of *inequality*. In the new subject of human Right, the ignorant may think there is a *pro* and a *con* of argument against argument: but the whole is a dispute between the duties of religion and the claims of atheism: all of which are answered for ever in this one short sentence—NO MAN HATH A RIGHT TO DO WRONG. How their plots will succeed in time, it may be impossible to foresee; but, I think, before the party of Republicans and Unitarians will succeed in this country, they must provide a political manager not so much given to betray and contradict himself as Dr. Priestley: who in one page assures us, that Unitarians are *as good subjects* as Trinitarians; and in an adjoining page, that they are *laying gunpowder, grain by grain, under the old building of error and superstition, which a single spark may hereafter enflame* *. This open unguarded temper, which lays a plot, and then tells it to every body, has brought the Doctor into great miscarriages, and was undoubtedly the cause of all the losses he suffered at *Birmingham*.

III. OF THE FEELINGS OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

THE Doctor's feelings are very unaccountable, being totally disproportionate, and sometimes quite of a contrary nature to their causes. He tells us how the *sudden union* of Mr. Burke and Lord North filled him *with horror*, (Lett. to Mr. Burke, p. 6.) If an unlooked-for coalition in the ministry goes to court, to manage public business, he is troubled with *the horrors*; but he can hear of captive kings, of plots, massacres, confiscations, and sacrilege, and find all

* Free Inq. p. 40—45.

he is not abashed at it; but considers it rather as a favourable circumstance; telling us how the Turks are in a fair way to become Christians, because they are Unitarians. "You are mistaken," says he, in his Letter to Mr. *Parkhurst*, "if you think that I am ashamed to avow my agreement with the Mahometans, or any other of the human race, in the doctrine of the divine unity, and to worship *together with them* the one God and Father of all, the Maker of heaven and earth." (Letters, p. 185.) Whether it be the Reverend Mr. *Parkhurst* then, or any other worthy gentleman, who shall suspect that the Doctor is weak enough to be ashamed; he has reason, from the Doctor's own authority, to retract his suspicions.

IV. THE LOGIC OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

When a writer has a good cause, and understands it well, his defence of it will be plain and rational: but if his cause be bad, and too weak to support itself, he will apply to the arts of false logic, which we call *sophistry;* and, as we say, will try to *persuade people out of their senses.* Dr. *Priestley* has been celebrated for his abilities: and I am convinced he is a man of parts, when I see the ingenuity and variety of his subterfuges. When the case is desperate, and we see him sinking; he is never at a loss for some shift to keep his head above water. One of his artifices is, to dazzle the eyes of his readers with a splendid idea of his own powers. The multitude of his volumes, and the expedition with which he writes, are favourite topics, and frequently alluded to; whence the public is to believe, that he is greater than other men, because he writes *faster;* and that he writes unanswerably, because he writes *without end.* It is a common evasion with him, to find fault with the qualifications of his antago-

nists: none of them are the right sort of men: so instead of answering their arguments, he amuses his readers with reflexions on their learning and abilities: and the world is to infer, how powerfully he would confute and display his superior skill in the science of defence, if he could but meet with a proper opponent. But unfortunately they are all of the wrong sort; so he treats with contempt all that are past, and with defiance all that are to come; assuring the public, that the greatest coward may think himself a match for the orthodox—*I have reconnoitred the force of the enemy, and I see nothing that can daunt the most timid—I want to see their Goliah*—Thus doth the Doctor flourish his pen over the heads of us weak churchmen, in the spirit of a prize-fighter. In the same vapouring strain, he calls Dr. *Horsley*, the late Bishop of St. *David's, a boastful Champion*, so confuted and baffled by himself, *that all the encomiums and encouragements of his friends cannot bring him into the field again.* (Letters to the Dean of Cant. p. 3.) Here we have a specimen of the language of the cockpit, applied to a dignitary of the church, and a controversy in divinity. The case is this: If persons of better learning and more manners leave him to himself, because they find it is to no purpose to argue with him; he reports, that they have ran away, and left him in possession of the field. He puts a like interpretation upon the pious conduct of Dr. *Horne*. This most amiable of men, when Dean of *Canterbury*, preached an exhortatory sermon on the duty of *contending earnestly for the faith:* which exhortation Dr. *Priestley* very ingeniously interprets into the voice of distress: as if all his opponents were confuted, and the good Dean crying out for *more help;* the Champion of Socinianism had got them all down, and was belabouring them at his mercy. Much

of the Doctor's logic consists in boasting and defiance. He therefore tells the world, the defenders of orthodoxy have no dependence but on the *act of William and Mary*, which he calls the *real Goliah in this business.* (Free Enquiry, p. 80.) But Dr. *Priestley* knows this Goliah has never been produced, because, so far as argument is wanted, we find ourselves able to do without it. But, if to apply to *other aids*, is tacitly to confess our weakness in point of argument; how comes *he* to depend, so much as he does, on the foreign helps of railing, blustering and terrifying? This impertinent application to the force of ill words, I call *his* Act of *William* and *Mary*, which he is putting into execution on every occasion; and therefore, by his own rule, he is under a state of conscious inability and confutation.

There is a sophistry in defying the laws made for the support of religion, which few people can see through. From their non-execution, it is argued, that we are ashamed of them, as being sensible they are the fences of falsehood. It is likewise suspected that the Socinians are courting persecution, and wish the laws to be put in force against themselves: but this can never be the case with those men who make so great a show of their impunity; and are so frequently turning it into an argument in their favour. In truth, their logic will be a match for us either way: if the laws are executed, then it is because we have no argument: if they are not executed, then it is because we are afraid it should be seen that we have no argument: so they have us at bay in either case. The experience of the world tells us, on the one side, that impunity begets licentiousness: and prudence teaches, on the other, that penal laws should never be executed, if lighter methods are found sufficient. Our laws in

support of religion, were not intended to exclude fair and reasonable argument; their use is to repress insolence and outrage; and to secure the peace of the *state;* which never thought itself secure with subjects, who boldly deny the Godhead of Jesus Christ, and teach the people to do the same. If there is any proper object of such a law, it is the man, who, when he *should* be arguing, falls to *blaspheming:* who, because he is not able to confute, alarms the minds of his readers with the prospect of being soon overpowered by numbers, or destroyed by some sudden and unforeseen explosion, for which he and his friends have so long been preparing the materials. I leave Dr. *Priestley* to *look into* the writings of modern controvertists, and see if he can find a person of that description. Another of the Doctor's arts is to impose upon his readers with unfair samples. Thus, if an adversary should lay upon him a dozen hard names, of which eleven should be true, and the twelfth doubtful; he will pick out the last, and hold it up to the public as a specimen of all the rest. In this way he can answer a large book before breakfast; by taking a few passages without their dependencies, and then boasting that he has confuted the whole work.

But Dr. *Priestley* never displays his sophistry to greater advantage, than when he undertakes to evade the force of a text of Scripture, which is very often necessary, from the part he has unhappily taken in divinity. The Scripture asserts plainly of Jesus Christ, that *all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.* Col. viii. 16. Now behold the answer to this plain positive Scripture—"I would only observe," says the Doctor, "that neither the earth, nor the sun, moon or stars, nor any material substance, is specified

among the things created by him." (See Letters, p. 119.) So *all things* signify none of these things, because none of them are particularly mentioned. To rid himself of the argument for the pre-existence and divinity of Christ from the act of creation, &c. he supposes, that as Christ is said to have reconciled the world as well as created it, *created* and *reconciled* may *well be supposed to be synonymous:* so that if a man *reconciles* two neighbours at variance, he may be said to have *created* them. I beg the reader to review p. 118, 119, 120 of his letters to Dr. *Price*, as a specimen of Unitarian logic and divinity: such as the learned Bishop of St. David's might well run away from; but not because he is beaten out of the field.

We prove the divinity of our blessed Saviour, by shewing that the same *divine acts* are ascribed to Him as to God: and as the Almighty is demonstrated by the works of omnipotence, the argument will never be answered. But nothing is too hard for Dr. *Priestley*; who replies, that this argument will prove *God and Satan to be the same being;* because it is said of *David*, that *God* moved him to number the people; and in another place that *Satan* tempted him. But the Doctor, who writes very *fast*, cannot stop on such occasions to make proper distinctions: all he aims at is, to make a little appearance, and get off as soon as he can. Temptation is no *divine act;* which is the thing always supposed in the argument he is answering. God, or man, or even Satan himself, may be said to *tempt*, if regard be had to the *sense* in which it is spoken; but God and Satan are never said either to have *created* the world or to have *saved* it. Such, however, is the style of criticism, which Dr. *Priestley* has opposed to Mr. *Jones's Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity.* (See his *Letters to Students in the Universities.*)

When a man is what we call a *Proteus*, he can transform himself from one shape to another, and assume any temper, to serve the present purpose; he can be audacious when he is in fear; pleased when he is vexed; glad when he is sorry; and compassionate while he is gratified with another's misery. Our Doctor *rejoices* in the orthodox defences of the church of England, because, as he informs my Lords the Bishops, they will *hasten its destruction*. He is glad that his property and his life were attacked, because this *does honour to his writings;* his adversaries having found this the only way of answering them. Every thing makes *for* him, which we should suppose to be *against* him. He boasts, that the Unitarians are *more obliged* to Dr. *Horsley*, than to any Trinitarian: but for *what* no mortal can tell, unless it be for detecting and exposing them past remedy to the world. The design of all this is, to make the writers of the church believe, that notwithstanding all their efforts, they do and will write to no good purpose; rather to a *bad* one; and that they may as well give it up, and leave the Doctor unmolested in corrupting our faith, and deluding the people, till the grand plot of total subversion shall be ripe for execution.

I shall trouble the reader but with one more of his sophisms; which is that of his insinuating so frequently as he does, that the age in which we live is greatly enlightened. Every monitor who advises us to become wiser than we are, deserves to be heard: but his meaning is, that we ought not to be contented with the faith of our forefathers, because we know some new things of which our forefathers were ignorant. The argument is altogether impertinent and inconsequential: but weak minds, and young scholars, whose vanity grows faster than their wisdom, may be influenced by it.

The age, it is true, has found out some new experiments in philosophy; and have acquired some new ideas in natural history: but what then? what is this to our religion? Have we found out a new Bible? If we get forward in learning, is that any reason why we should go backward in divinity? There are, to be sure, some curious discoveries of late years, and we cannot deny it. Our new vellum paper, which goes by the name of the wove paper, is of a quality and substance much superior to the paper made in former years: but if all Dr. *Priestley's* improvements in theology, with all his interpretations of the Scripture, were written upon it, the blank paper of the last century would be a better thing in the library of an Englishman. The present reformers of France call themselves the *illuminated:* but they were a people of more worth and wisdom with their old darkness about them, than with their new light; which, like a *coup de soleil* upon their brain, has put them out of their wits; and made them, what Dr. *Priestley's* principles would soon make us, if they should be generally admitted, madmen, scalpers, and cannibals.

V. THE RELIGION OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

Dr. *Priestley's* religion must be described differently from that of other men; all by negatives; for he has taken great pains to shew us what he is *not.* The truth of religion is nothing yet known, but something that will be found out, if there be but *discussion* enough; and therefore discussion is what he is constantly recommending. There is to be no establishment of any kind; but all *discussion, discussion;* and the end of it, a right understanding of religion. Every person who is strongly possessed with any persuasion, of which he

has no proof, is an enthusiast or fanatic. Dr. *Priestley* comes fairly under this description, because he turns prophet without his credentials *. "*Whatever was the beginning of this world,*" says he "*the end of it will be glorious and paradisaical, beyond what our imaginations can now conceive; the contemplation of which always makes me happy.*" (Essay on Gov. p. v.) How this will come to pass the Doctor to be sure knows; but we can only conjecture from his example; who, as he tells us himself, was once what we commonly call a *Christian*, but what he calls a *Trinitarian;* then he was a *high Arian;* then a *low Arian*, like his friend Dr. *Price;* then he became a *Socinian*, and that, as he confesses, of the *lowest kind*, (Letters, p. 101.) All these changes are in a progress

* We have heard it asserted, that Dr. *Priestley* had predicted the end of the world in fourteen or twenty years. But this matter was not truly represented. In the sermon on the death of Dr. *Price*, he taught his audience, that they who should die at the end of fourteen, or twenty, or seven years, would at the end of those periods respectively meet Dr. *Price:* and thus he made it out; that as the soul dies with the body, the interval between any particular person's death and his resurrection, is to be reckoned as nothing; therefore he that should die soonest would soonest meet Dr. *Price*. Q. E. D.

After this he proceeded to tell them, that the news with which the surviving friends of Dr. *Price* will entertain him at the Resurrection, will consist of those events, in which while alive he was so much interested. He knew the triumphs of the memorable 14th of July; and as they were so agreeable to his taste, how will he be delighted to hear of the massacre on the 10th of August! &c. &c.

The idea the Doctor has formed of persons of his own persuasion in a future state is very singular. Such saints, he thinks, will be pleased at the tremendous day of the Resurrection, to hear what rebellions and massacres happened after their death; and enquire with anxiety, perhaps, whether *England* had been as fortunate in this respect as *France?* But, as the *prospect is opening wider*, he that goes latest to Dr. *Price*, will *have the best news to tell him!*

of descent; the Doctor is a falling body all the way. We may judge from this his progress toward paradisaical felicity, what the end will be; men will believe less and less all the way, as he has done, till they come to paradise and believe nothing at all. The learned have held many arguments about the situation of paradise; but thus much we learn now for certain, that the road to paradise is downwards.

In his capacity of a prophet, he tells us what wonderful things will come to pass in consequence of the French revolution. His 14th letter to Mr. *Burke* is such a curiosity upon this subject, that I wish the reader would peruse the whole. He will there discover, what a new and happy creation is to arise out of the French chaos. Religion shall no longer be established, but truth will establish itself—Governments will all be rectified, when the superstitious respect paid to kings and priests shall vanish: all contention for power shall cease, and differences will no longer be determined by the sword: the grand secret is discovered of living without war. Religious disputes will be at an end; because *so great a majority will be of one opinion that the minority will see the necessity of giving way.* The *one opinion* is his own opinion, Socinianism *of the lowest kind;* and the thing which is to be overpowered by numbers, and *give way,* is the Christian persuasion: and thus he provides for the preservation of religious liberty to us all. Some must decide, and the rest must *give way,* and then every man will, as the Doctor has it, *provide religion for himself.* How ignorant would this world be, if there were not prophets to enlighten it! I would not, however, depend absolutely on the Doctor's infallibility. For when he wrote his letters to Mr. *Burke,* he foresaw the approaching downfall of that *nuisance* (p. 128.) that *old*

and decayed building (p. 129.) the Church of England, from the rapid increase of the Dissenters, and particularly of those at *Birmingham*. But how little do prophets sometimes foresee! The fable tells us, how the astrologer, gazing at the stars and foretelling the fate of empires, did not foresee, that he himself was falling into a ditch: even so, that ruin which the Doctor had so plainly and so positively predicted to the *old building*, fell unfortunately upon the *new* meeting-house, and upon his own dwelling. How active the Doctor might be at that time in promoting the ruin he had in prospect, he knows better than we do: but instead of being so weak as to take any thing to himself, he persists in laying all the blame upon the clergy of Birmingham. Yet he has not made it appear in a single instance, that any person of character had a share in the mischief of the late riots: it rather appears to have originated totally with the undistinguishing vulgar: who seeing their country menaced by some alarming motions towards a French revolution in England, and not approving it, very unadvisedly took the preservative justice of the time into their own hands. Persons of more refined understandings act differently. When they see a man parading the streets with a torch in his hand; telling the populace that the combustibles are all ready; and that the conflagration will be sudden and unexpected; they are tender of his rights; so they leave him to proceed, and wait to see what he will do; and when the town is on fire, they try to put it out as well as they can. This was the policy which brought the city of London to the verge of destruction in 1780. Sleeping justice in time of danger; and a dangerous execution of it by the vulgar, are so bad, that it is hard to say which is the worst; yet we might have justified the latter on our Doctor's principles; which

are accommodated to the demolition of *Churches*, but not of *conventicles*. We might have pleaded, that *old* and *decayed* buildings, maintained at a great *expence*, for purposes of *error* and *superstition*, being *nuisances*, it were better for the *good of the whole*, that they should be removed by the *justice of the people*: Unitarian liberty being an adequate compensation for a *time* of *calamity*; and a *paradisaical state* upon earth, the *glorious* end of all.

The Christian religion sits so easy upon him, that he can droll and sport with the greatest objects of it, in a manner fearful to repeat. Comparing the Arianism of Dr. *Clarke* with the Arianism of Dr. *Price*, he scoffingly remarks, that the *diminutive logos* of Dr. Price *shrinks into nothing* before the *logos of Dr. Clarke!* (Letters, p. 100.) And of transubstantiation he says—" with what unspeakable reverence and devotion do the Catholics eat their Maker." (p. 101.) The Catholics are in error upon this subject; but the subject, in every view of it, is so great, that no serious Christian would treat it with words of contempt. The Heathens frequently mocked at the first and best Christians for *eating their Deity*; stating the doctrine in the same terms of mockery as Dr. *Priestley* does, because they *felt* the subject as little as they understood it.

Levity upon sacred subjects is bad enough; but blasphemy is worst of all. If Christianity is the revelation of God, Jesus Christ is adorable and eternal; the only begotten Son of God, to be honoured by men and angels, as the Father himself is honoured; and the time of his appearance is approaching, when the heaven and earth which he created shall fly away before his face. This is the divine Person, concerning whom Dr. *Priestley* reflects upon the Church of England for

tempting the Dissenters to pay supreme worship to a *fellow-creature*, to *a man like ourselves*, (Letters to Dr. Horne, p. 21.) *a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary—naturally as weak, as fallible, and as peccable as other men—possessed of no natural advantages over his father Joseph, or any other man in a similar situation of life in Judea.* (Letters, p. 172.) At Paris, since the date of their illumination, the most hideous blasphemies have been cried about the streets; (they are a little farther advanced in their way toward Paradise than we are) and so great are the liberties taken by Dr. *Priestley* against divine revelation, that if he had lived in the days of *Oliver Cromwell*, he might have reckoned himself very fortunate if he had escaped the fate of *James Nailor*. The difference between them is no more than this: Dr. P. believes Jesus Christ to have been a *peccable man:* James Nailor believed a peccable man to be *Jesus Christ.* Yet this is the man who writes pastoral letters to students in the university, Methodists, Jews, and Emanuelists; who thinks himself a terror to bishops, priests, and deacons; and labours to convert all men by the superior excellence of his own persuasion. By *Emanuelists*, I mean the followers of *Emanuel Swedenborg;* who among the other gross errors of their new revelation, hold a doctrine in direct opposition to Dr. *Priestley:* the latter, as we see, maintains that Jesus Christ is *a man like ourselves;* but *Swedenborg* taught, that the *humanity* of Christ is *God;* even that God whose name is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! To show how mistaken Dr. *Priestley* is in his judgment of things, he has written an address to those people, reminding them how near their doctrine is to his own, and that as they are not much divided, they may as well work together: but the result is, they

dislike him as much as he mistakes them: and if both sides argue till doomsday, neither will ever be converted to truth by what the other has to offer.

VI. OF HIS PHILOSOPHY.

By many worthy persons who take a side-view of Dr. *Priestley*, he has been celebrated in his capacity of a natural philosopher: and very justly: he is indisputably eminent in inventing and diversifying experiments; such especially as relate to the analysis of the air. Yet, so far as we can see for ourselves, and have learned from the sentiments of others, he is by no means so happy in explaining his experiments as in performing them; and in philosophy is found to fluctuate in his principles, as much as he does in divinity and politics. The thing is taken different ways. Some, from an admiration of his philosophical abilities, become infected with his religious errors: while others, shocked by the impiety of the latter, become jealous of philosophy altogether, and think the study dangerous; because it is so frequently observed, that philosophy deceives itself, and becomes too proud to be a Christian. If the philosophy of Dr. *Priestley* should have tempted him to blasphemy, he would have been a better man without it; and the time may come, when even he himself will wish there had been no such thing upon earth. The *extreme weakness* and *want of sense* in churchmen, are very favourite topics with him; our clergy are universally *bigotted* and *superstitious*, or hypocritical and hardened, *for professing* with the church, and *believing* with Dr. *Priestley*: so they are all contemptible for the one reason or the other; and he accordingly, while he claims the merit of great candour, abuses them at his will in his publications.

Several years ago, he promised himself so much success from the effect of philosophy in overturning our establishment, that the clergy, he thought, had reason to tremble for the fate of their hierarchy at the sight of an air-pump: though the hierarchy has nothing more to fear from a philosophical apparatus in proper hands, than Dr. *Priestley's* meeting-house from a bladder of inflammable air. Strange effects do sometimes follow from unexpected causes. Dr. *Franklin*, who lighted up that fire in *America*, which has now extended with increased fury to *France*, derived much of his influence from the fame he had acquired in philosophy. We hope his brother Doctor, who is neither so *useful* a philosopher, nor so *clear* a writer, will not succeed so well in separating the people of England from their government, as his predecessor did in separating the colonies from the mother country. But he makes a dangerous use of philosophy, when he suggests to young people in our universities, that they should *refuse to receive divinity otherwise than as they receive philosophy* *. And how is that? Do not they receive philosophy on the authority of *man*, and the evidence of *experiment*? Whereas we receive divinity on the authority of God, and the evidence of *Faith*; which, as the apostle teaches, is the *evidence of things not seen*; and *things not seen* cannot have the evidence of *experiment*. If young men proceed as he advises, they will miscarry as he has done, we would therefore warn them to beware of what he has insinuated upon this subject; there being a little too much of the fox in it for them to discover, till they are better informed. What are the present incendiaries of *France*, but a gang of philosophical felons; who, because they could

* See his Letters to them, p. 45.

not receive divinity as they received philosophy, have astonished the world with such a scene of absurdity, rapine, murder, and sacrilege, as is not to be found in the annals of man? It seems as if the providence of God intended to shew the world, by their example, to what a deplorable degree of depravity the nature of man may sink, when it despises the lights of religion. As philosophers, they began with a sovereign contempt for all mankind but themselves, as poor low creatures of a different species: and what is the consequence of their pride? they themselves are fallen below the nature of man, and are become a spectacle of *inhumanity* to the world: but they are greatly admired by Dr. *Priestley*. The science of philosophy is pleasant, and may be very improving to the mind: but what will a man gain, if he should take philosophy in exchange for his soul? Of this danger Dr. *Purkis* gave very proper and seasonable warning from an university pulpit. But our author objects to his application of St. *Paul's* admonition to *beware of philosophy*, because, says he, the philosophy intended by the apostle was that of the *Gnostics*; which having long been out of date, no danger is now to be apprehended from it. But in this he asserts what the text will not warrant. St. *Paul* speaks of a philosophy * Κατα τα στοιχεια του

* Dr. *Priestley* has instructed us, that the Apostle here alludes to the philosophy of the Gnostics. But in this, we have an instance of that rashness of judgment, and want of due discrimination, with which he forms his opinions. The name of *Philosophy* was first assumed by *Pythagoras* as a student of nature; and Cicero from Pythagoras applies the term to those, *Qui rerum naturam studiose intuerentur*; Tuscul. v. 3. Therefore philosophy in its original sense is *natural philosophy*; and the philosophers who gave St. *Paul* a surfeit of their wisdom at Athens, were *Epicureans* and *Stoics*. It does not appear that the word *philosophy* is ever ascribed to any thing in the Scripture but to what the *Heathens* taught.

κοσμου according to the *elements of the world;* concerning which elements, philosophers of all ages have had variety of *traditions,* and were, as they are now, for ever wrangling and disputing. If this be the sense of στοιχεια, (as the *margin* gives it) natural philosophy is particularly specified: and if it be not, that kind of philosophy must be included: because we are bid to beware of all but that which is *after Christ:* and the philosophy in which Dr. *Priestley* has distinguished himself, will certainly not come under that description. The *doctrines* of the Gnostics are dead and gone; but the *spirit* of the Gnostics, a worse thing, is alive still, and in a flourishing state; I mean that vain humour of being thought more *knowing* than other Christians; that affectation of being *wise without book,* and preferring the wild imaginations of their own brain to the wisdom of divine revelation. This is the corrupt *tree* whose fruit poisons the world; and of that fruit, the philosophy of the Gnostics was but an inconsiderable part. The *Gnostic spirit* never displayed itself more than in the whole Socinian system, and particularly in

The false teachers who infested the Christian Church, were not called *Philosophers,* but *Heretics* and *Sectaries;* and their teaching was not called philosophy, but διδαχη Νικολαιτων; as in the Revelation of St. John.

As for the *Gnostics* in particular, they first began to be distinguished about a hundred and thirty years after the death of our Saviour; and could not be alluded to by St. *Paul.* So the Doctor is every way wrong: and is himself an instance, that the admonition to beware of what then was, and now is, called Philosophy, may be seasonably urged at this time: he having denied the separate existence of the human soul on the ground of certain speculations in natural philosophy, which *admit of no proof.* And it was foreseen and foretold in the last century, that those speculations (being of the *Epicurean* school) would lead Christians to Materialism; which is philosophical *Atheism. Vanini,* who suffered as an Atheist, does not appear to have been guilty of any other.

the writings of our present philosopher; who instead of lifting up his mind to the mysteries of the Gospel, is for reducing all mysteries to the level of his own understanding; and consequently, he soon finds himself under the necessity of denying them: of which I produce this singular example. *Great is the mystery of godliness,* saith the apostle, *God was manifest in the flesh,* &c. Mysteries, saith the Doctor, *the only mysteries known to the Scripture,* are things *perfectly intelligible:* therefore to make *this* perfectly intelligible, he changes the mystery of the incarnation into the mere fact of speaking by inspiration; *God manifest in the flesh,* that is, *speaking to mankind by the man Christ Jesus* *. God was therefore no otherwise manifest in Jesus Christ than in any other prophet *by whom* he had *spoken to mankind;* and so *Moses* or *Isaiah* were as truly *God manifest in the flesh* as Jesus Christ.

His *Gnosticism* is farther apparent in the boastings, which so frequently occur in favour of his own attainments, too surfeiting to be repeated. He has been so accustomed to extravagant and indiscriminate flattery from his brethren and admirers, that he looks upon encomium as his due; and therefore bestows it largely upon himself. Though Mr. *Parkhurst,* the first Hebrew scholar of the age, has detected him in *palpable errors* in that language, nothing checks him; and he answers it all by telling us, how at eighteen years of age he was able to teach Hebrew. Though convicted of illiterate mistakes in Greek by Dr. *Horsley,* and in Latin by Mr. *Badcock;* he still holds out the flag of defiance as before, and gives us to know, (leaving us to *smile if we please,* as we probably *shall)* that as he

* Letters to Dr. *Horne,* &c. p. 67.

would not exchange his knowledge of the Greek with that of Dr. Horsley, *so neither would he exchange his knowledge of Hebrew even with that of Mr.* Parkhurst *. I have known many boasters; but not one that was a man of any permanent effect; because this failing betrays such great want of *discretion* and *good manners*. Boldness and importunity will have weight with the ignorant; and the mountebank is often well paid for his bouncings upon a stage at a country market. Sauciness of language to superiors will always give pleasure to the mean and the malicious, and people of common understandings think it impossible that any man should be so confident unless there is some strength in his cause. But there being *none*, confidence is necessary to supply the defect; and without it some writers could never get forward. It was my fortune to be acquainted with a worthy dissenting minister, who having been at the same academy with Dr. *Priestley*, told me, he was the most conceited youth that ever came amongst them; who thought he then knew every thing; and discovered, in the bud, that same self-sufficient spirit which being now full-blown, and in maturity, rails at doctors, deans and bishops, for the inferiority of their learning. When I call to mind the character of the plain honest man who related this, a person of the old puritanical persuasion; I am sorry to see (being no enemy to *conscientious* dissenters, for many of whom I have great respect, and with whom I have held long acquaintance) a new generation daily increasing upon us, with so little of the faith and piety of their predecessors. I could point out another of their ministers, in a very conspicuous situation, who is orthodox in his belief, and peaceable

* Letters, p. 187.

in his politics: but what shall we say, when such a man is scouted by his brethren, and challenged to name one single minister more among the dissenters, who is of the same opinions with himself? If this be true, they are *all gone out of the way;* and with little chance of returning to it any more, if they put themselves under the direction of Dr. *Priestley.*

It has been a matter of wonder to many, how he has been attended to so much as he has been. I heard it observed lately, that he rarely writes a controversial piece without contradicting himself fifty times before he gets to the end of it: which want of consistency will be found in every writer who is without *true principles.* When we see such a man, with abilities so ill directed, riding the understandings of a large party of people, the case seems at first unaccountable: but, if duly considered, it will explain itself; for *parties* will submit to any thing: they have a tame side as well as a wild one: they will bear every thing, and they will bear nothing. Some little time after the riots at *Birmingham,* a Quaker went into a coffee-house of that place; where meeting with a Dissenter, one of the Doctor's abettors, "Well, friend," said he, "how dost thou do now?" "Do?" said the other, "I should do well enough, if we were not *priest-ridden.*" "Friend," said the Quaker, "thou art *Priestley-ridden.*" To this privilege of riding the people, the Doctor advanced himself, partly in virtue of the philosophical fame he had so justly acquired: and he might have kept his seat better, had he been more temperate in his politics, and more sound in his divinity. But he incautiously mounted the wrong steed at *Birmingham;* and putting on with more haste than good speed, the beast threw his heels into the air: and it is probable

the Doctor will not put his foot into that stirrup any more.

Whatever degree of popularity he may have acquired with his *party*, he has little reason on that consideration to be high-minded. Popularity is too frequently the reward of base arts and bad principles, and has been bestowed on very bad characters. The famous *Titus Oates*, the son of an Anabaptist teacher and dipper, a pestilent incendiary of the last century, who was whipped from Newgate to Tyburn for perjury, agreed very much with Dr. *Priestley* in some of his religious opinions. The best name he could find for *Athanasius* was, *that creed-making rascal.* He was always delighted, and remarkably active, when mischief of any kind was going forward against the church. In the day of his prosperity, he was a personage of such influence, that no man dared to open his mouth against him, for fear of being put into a plot, and either hanged or sent to the Tower; and nearly a whole sessions of parliament was employed upon him. He assumed the *doctorate;* was served in plate; and had a pension of 600*l.* per annum. His name was as precious then, as that of *Thomas Paine* is now, and with the same sort of people, for the same reason, an uncommon disposition and ability to disturb the peace of mankind. Dr. *Priestley* ought to be, and might be, a character very superior to these: he has great merit with natural philosophers for what he has done well, and they have given him at least as much as his due: but his popularity with a party may be accounted for from some other qualifications in which he more nearly resembles *Titus Oates* and *Thomas Paine.* The patriots who rule the floods of sedition in *France*, have honoured our Doctor (as the newspapers report) with *their* testimony, that his principles and his inclinations

are up to the high-water mark of republican mischief; and in so doing have given that warning to Englishmen, which none of them can want, who are in any degree acquainted with the spirit of his publications *.

* When Dr. *Priestley* would whet our appetites for a new revolution, he holds out to us the *noble example* of *America*, and the noble example of *France*, which has grown out of it. But the Americans are not in such an enviable state as he represents, whose judgment is very little to be depended upon. An inquisitive and judicious gentleman, who has lately visited several parts of America, and conversed with people of all ranks, assured me, he found but two persons of character who expressed any interest in the French revolution: and that the French nation is universally held in very low esteem there. In religion, he observed, they are in a poor condition; broken into parties by a sectarian spirit almost universally prevailing, and tending to the extirpation of all solid piety. In the southern provinces, the chief religion is *pure deism*, called by the name of *philosophy* in *Europe;* which has produced their unbounded tolerations.

In the moral principle, they are certainly not improved; many of them having been induced to favour a separation from this country, with a view to be well rid of their British creditors. The small province of *Virginia* only, owed two millions to the mother country at the beginning of the war; and it is not in my power to show how much of it has been paid. Their courts, I am told, are to this day not opened for fulfilling the 4th article of the peace, which obliged them to the payment of their debts; and on that very consideration, our government can enter into no commercial negociation with them. It is an universal complaint, that scarce a debt contracted by the American states is *punctually* discharged: their fraud is coextensive with their country. Their bubble bank at New York, which ruined so many people by a display of false credit, is well known. See Memoirs of the late Dr. *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 62, a very interesting pamphlet, by some person well versed in the subject he has undertaken. In their political state (for it cannot be called a *government*) they find some new advantages; but nothing to compensate for that peace, order, stability, and respectability which they enjoyed under the old government; and they did not spare to say, that upon the whole the *old* was *better*. The gentleman from whom this information was obtained, learned some parti-

VII. THE ANALYSIS OF DR. PRIESTLEY.

When a strange phenomenon appears in nature, we are all desirous to account for it. Dr. *Priestley* being a phenomenon in religion and learning, it is natural to look for some solution of him. The excursions of his mind are unbounded; his versatility is without example; his obstinacy in argument, inflexible; and his disposition to disturb the peace of the world, indefatigable; and yet I never heard it offered in excuse for him, that *much learning hath made him mad.* What then are we to say? for his mind must be under some unhappy malady. The proper method of investigation in such a case will be, to learn from past times *what* men have been, and *why:* and then we shall be better able to understand, what and why they are as we now find them.

In the life of Mr. *Richard Hooker,* by *Isaac Walton,* we have the description of a set of people, such as they discovered themselves on their first appearance in this kingdom; when their portrait was taken by an able hand, and is still preserved in an account of the *opinions and activity of the Nonconformists;* from which I make the following extract. "In which number of Nonconformists, though some might be sincere well-meaning men, whose indiscreet zeal might be so like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of their errors;

culars relating to the conduct of the war, from a leader in it, which were generally suspected in the mother country, but not so well known before upon American testimony. I wish the reader would consult those *Memoirs* of Dr. *Benjamin Franklin,* where he will find a full detection of the false *information* that philosopher held out to persons disposed to remove from hence to *America.*

yet of this party were many that were possessed with a high degree of *spiritual wickedness;* I mean with an innate restless *pride* and *malice,* and an *opposition to government:* men that joyed to be the authors of misery; which is properly his work, who is the *enemy and disturber of mankind:* men whom prejudice and a furious zeal hath so blinded, as to make them neither to hear reason, nor adhere to the ways of peace: whom *pride* and *self-conceit* had made to overvalue their *own crooked wisdom* so much, as not to be ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those men whom they ought to reverence, and those laws which they ought to obey.—They began with *tender* and *meek petitions;* then proceeded to *admonitions;* then to *satirical remonstrances;* and at last, having like *Absalom* numbered who was not, and who was for their cause, they got so great a party, that they dared first to *threaten the bishops,* and then the *queen and parliament.*—Men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people were mad for a *new,* or *super,* or *re-reformation* of religion; like that man, who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful."—" With these the church was pestered; her lands in danger of alienation; her power at least neglected; and her peace torn to pieces by several *schisms,* and by such *heresies as do usually attend that sin.* People seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden, and attended with danger, that so they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied. They called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others *."

* See Life of Hooker, 4th edit. p. 181, or as prefixed to his works.

The style of *Isaac Walton* is so strong, that a very little of it will be sufficient for our purpose, and prepare us to account for the eccentric *appearance* and *motions* of Dr. *Priestley*. He was bred up in what this author, who follows the old fashion, calls the *sin of schism:* and schism, as we learn from the example before us, begets many other sins; that of *heresy* in particular. Division from the church breeds that *hatred* against the church, which is so conspicuous in Dr. *Priestley:* a secret sense of superiority in the church breeds *envy:* and when *hatred* and *envy* work together, they will produce very strange and alarming effects. *Envy*, wishing the church to be as wrong in its *doctrine*, as it is hateful in its *authority*, will soon *find* it so; first in one article; then in others; and at last in all. From the habit of proving so frequently that the church believes wrong, it will itself at last come to believe nothing. Our author goes to the primitive writers of the Christian church; where he might find truth, wisdom, and piety: but he finds what he wishes to find, and what the raven looks for, as he flies croaking through the air, *corruption*. His hatred and envy are attended with that native self-conceit, for the gratifying of which, as *Walton* has worded it, he is *not ashamed to hold foolish and unmannerly disputes against those whom he ought to reverence*. He differs from all, because he would be wiser than all: so he falls into notions of hopeless absurdity, and is at his wit's end how to maintain his ground. He is therefore such an heterogeneous composition, as men may well look at with amazement: he is wise and foolish; learned and ignorant; civil and insolent; meek and intolerant; a leader in want of leading-strings; cold-hearted as a philosopher, and hot-headed as a fanatic: and, as the result of all, in-

corrigible in his opinions: with whose evasive logic and unmannerly spirit of detraction no man of character would hold an argument, but for the sake of those who may be in danger from his writings. Mr. *Wakefield,* who has a fair title to the character of a scholar, and knows a certain person well, laments over him as *almost an angel in wisdom, and all but an idiot in judgment.* I do not carry the *opposition* of the character so *high* or so *low* as he does. In those departments of learning, with which Mr. Wakefield is *not* so well acquainted, he allows too much: in those with which he *is* acquainted, he finds him *very deficient,* and *possessed of self-conceit in no ordinary measure.* See his *Short Strictures on Dr. Priestley's Letters,* P. 1. p. 10.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS from the works of Dr. *Priestley* were read in court at the assizes at *Warwick;* because, when he applied for the damages he had sustained, no judgment could be formed by the court of the value of writings which were lost, but from the value of those which remained. They were afterwards printed at *Birmingham,* with the following motto in the title page.

If the opinions and principles in question be evidently subversive of all religion, and of all civil society, they must evidently be false.

[Essay on the First Principles of Government, by *Joseph Priestley, L.L.D. p.* 121.]

On these extracts no remarks are added; as the reader, after what has been said, will be prepared to make his own reflections.

UPON ACTS OF PARLIAMENT.

BUT can an *Act of Parliament* authorize a manifest injustice? And when you are taxed with oppressing *your neighbours* in exacting of them that, for which you have given them *no equivalent,* will it be sufficient *at the great day of Judgment* to say, that you had an *Act of Parliament* for doing it?

[Familiar Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, page 66, paragraph 3, line 3—published in 1790.

Will an *Act of Parliament* excuse you in the sight of God, for exacting of any man more than in the *eye of reason and equity* he *ought* to pay? If an *Act of Parliament* will not justify the taking men's *lives*, neither will it justify the taking their *money*.

[The same paragraph—line 13.

II. UPON RESISTANCE TO GOVERNMENT.

If government, though *legal* and *constitutional*, has not made *sufficient* provision for the *happiness* of the *people*, no *other* property, or title by which it may be dignified, ought to shelter it from the *generous attack* of *the noble and daring patriot*.

[Essay on the First Principles of Government, Sect. II. of Political Liberty—page 35, paragraph 2, line 9, to page 36—published in 1791.

Governors will never be awed by the *voice* of the people, so long as it is a *mere voice*, without *overt acts*.

[Ibid. page 46, 47, paragraph 3, line 24.

III. UPON LIBERTY, CIVIL AND POLITICAL.

Civil liberty extends no farther than to a *man's own conduct* and signifies the *right* he has *to be exempt from the control of the society, or its agents*.

[Ibid. Sect. I. of the First Principles of Government and the different kinds of Liberty—p. 9. paragraph 2, line 7.

In countries where a man by his birth or fortune is excluded from the supreme offices, or from a power of voting for proper persons to fill them, that man, *whatever* may be the *form* of the government, or whatever *civil liberty* or *power over his own actions* he may have, has no power over those of another, and *therefore* has *no political liberty at all*. Nay, his *own* conduct, as far as the society does interfere, is in all cases directed by others.

It may be said, that *no society upon earth* was ever formed in the manner represented above.—I answer, *it is true*, because *all governments whatever* have been, in some measure, compulsory, *tyrannical*, and *oppressive* in their origin; but the method I have described, *must be* allowed to be the *only free*, and *equitable* method of forming a society; and since *every man retains*, and *can never be deprived* of his *natural right* of relieving himself from all oppression, *that is*, from *every thing that has been imposed upon him* without his consent; *this* must be the only *true*, and *proper* foun-

dation of *all* the governments subsisting in the world, *and that, to which the people who compose them, have an unalienable right* to *bring them back.*

[Ibid. Sect. II. page 11, line 7, to page 12, and the end of the second paragraph.

IV. OF LEGAL RESTRAINT UPON HUMAN ACTIONS.

In truth, the *greater part* of human actions are of such a nature, that *more inconvenience* would follow from their being *fixed* by *laws*, than from their being left to *every man's arbitrary will.*

[Ibid. Sect. III. of Civil Liberty—p. 52, paragraph 2, line 9.

V. OF LEGAL RESTRAINT ON OPINION.

If a man commit murder, let him be punished as a murderer, and let no regard be paid to his plea of conscience for committing the action; but let not *the opinions which lead to the action be meddled with.* [Ibid. page 118, line 8.

VI. RELIGION IN GENERAL.

Besides, though religion, or the *belief of a God*, a *Providence*, and a *future state*, have its *use* with respect to *society*, it is *not* absolutely necessary for that purpose.

[Familiar Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, page 55, paragraph 2, line 1.

VII. THE BISHOPS AND THE INFERIOR CLERGY.

As to the *Clergy*, we make ourselves perfectly easy about *them*; for should the *Court* once more smile upon *us*, and should the *Minister* of *the day* only give a *single nod*, opposition will vanish as by a charm. [Ibid. page 36, line 10.

The *Bishops* of *this* reign would in such a case *instantly* become as those of the *last*; and as to the *inferior Clergy*, they would wheel about as quickly as soldiers on a parade, when the word of command is given them in the presence of the King in St. James's Park.

[Ibid. line 21.

We are the *sheep*, and (the Clergy) our accusers are the *wolves*, and *say what we will, we must* be *guilty.*

[Ibid. page 21, paragraph 2, line 18.

VIII. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

WE are now in the situation of the *primitive Christians*, as the friends of *reformation* have nothing to expect from *power* or *general favour*, but must look for *every species of abuse and persecution that the spirit of the times* will admit of. If even *burning alive* was a sight that the country would now bear, *there exists a spirit* that *would inflict that horrid punishment, and with as much cool indifference, and savage exultation as in any preceding ages of the world.*

[Extract from a SERMON preached for the benefit of *Hackney College*, and quoted by Dr. *Priestley* in his "Appeal to the Public on the Riots at Birmingham," page 23, paragraph 3, line 1, to page 24, line 12.

IX. THE KING.

WHAT has been the return for this unquestionable proof of our loyalty and zeal?—Has it secured to us the *gratitude* of the King?

[Familiar Letters addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, page 15, paragraph 3, line 1.

Now it has unfortunately happened, that "*another King is arisen who knoweth not Joseph* *," or the obligations that *his* family are under. [Ibid. page 14.

Should THE KING, like *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther*, vi. 1. *not be able to sleep*, and call upon one of the Lords of his bed-chamber to *read to him out of the book of the records* of *the Chronicles* of the *Kings of England*, and should there find who had been the most zealous for the revolution under King William—for the accession of the House of Hanover—for the suppression of the rebellions in 1715 and 1745—and who took HIS part in a late change of administration; and then enquire *what honour* and *dignity* (chap. vi. 6.) had been done to *his* friends, and the friends of *his* family; and learn, that instead of any thing being done to reward, much had been done to *mortify*, and *punish* them; that to this very day they had been persecuted by lies, and calumnies, *as men whose laws were diverse from those of all other people, and who do not keep the King's laws*, and therefore say, *that it is not* for the KING'S profit to suffer them (chap. iii. 8.:) poor despised *Mordecai*

* This passage is taken from Scripture.——"Now there arose up a *new King* over Egypt, *which knew not Joseph.*"

That *new King* was *Pharaoh*—of all tyrants the most impious and cruel.

may be advanced, and some *other* use made of the *gallows* that was erected for him. [Ibid. p. 36, paragraph 2, line 1.

X. THE AMERICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE Americans ventured to do a great deal more than our ancestors at the Revolution, and set a *glorious example* to *France* and the *whole world.*

They formed a *completely new government* on the principles of *equal liberty* and the *rights of men* (as *Dr. Price* expressively and happily said) "WITHOUT NOBLES—WITHOUT BISHOPS—and WITHOUT A KING."

[Letters to *Mr. Burke*—page 40, line 3—published in 1791.

XI. THE LATE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

BY means of *national debts* the wheels of several European governments are already so much clogged, that it is impossible they should go on much longer. The very Peace Establishment of *France* could not be kept up any longer; *and the same must soon be the situation of other countries.* All the causes which have operated to the augmentation of these debs, continue to operate; so that *our* approach to THIS GREAT CRISIS in our affairs is not equable, but accelerated.

[Letters to *Mr. Burke*—page 153, paragraph 2, line 1.

If the condition of *other* nations be as much bettered, as that of *France* probably will be by her improved system of government that GREAT CRISIS, dreadful as it appears in prospect, will be a *consummation devoutly to be wished.*

[Ibid. page 154, paragraph 2, line 1.

I rejoice to see the warmth with which the cause of orthodoxy, that is, long established opinions, however erroneous, and that of the hierarchy is now taken up by its friends—because, if their system be not well founded, they are only accelerating its destruction. *In fact, they are assisting me in the proper disposal of those trains of gunpowder which have been some time accumulating, and at which they have taken so great an alarm, and which will certainly blow it up at length as suddenly, as unexpectedly, and as completely as the overthrow of the late arbitrary government in France.*

[Preface to the Letters to Mr. Burn—pages 207 and 208, in the same volume that contains the Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham.

What a contrast is now exhibited between the two rival nations of France and England, and how many Englishmen blush to look upon it!

[Familiar Letters, p. 210.

How different are the spectacles that are now exhibited in *France* and in *England! Here bigotry* has been fostered, and has acquired new strength; *there* it is almost extinct.

[Preface to the Appeal—page xxiv. note x.

XII. RIOTS AT BIRMINGHAM.

1. THE KING,

Only in Part exculpated from the Guilt of them.

Of the *two parties* in whose *names* the outrages at Birmingham were committed, the Church *and the King;* the latter has IN A GREAT MEASURE *exculpated himself* by his proclamation to apprehend and punish the rioters.

[An Appeal to the Public on the Riots in Birmingham—page 56, paragraph 2, line 1—published in 1792.

2. THE BISHOPS.

Considering the part that many of the lower clergy *have acted* in this business, the eyes of the country are now upon the *Bishops;* and their *silence* will be construed into *approbation.*

[Ibid. page 75, line 9.

3. THE BISHOP AND CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE.

There are several places in Germany, in which the Catholics and Protestants constantly make use of the same places of public worship. Such an offer on the part of the *Clergy and the Bishop of the diocese,* would have done them the greatest credit, and *have contributed* very much towards *exculpating* them from having *any share* in the outrage. But this natural and easy method, which would have cost them nothing, not having been done, *they remain without that exculpation.* [Ibid. page 73.

4. MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH AT BIRMINGHAM.

Here, instead of *answering* our books, *the Members of the Church of England* at *Birmingham* have *burnt* them, *together with our houses,* and *places* of *public worship.* [Ibid. page 80.

5. THE GREAT BODY OF THE CLERGY, AND THE FRIENDS OF THE KING.

Having always been an avowed advocate of public liberty, and religion, which led me to write in defence of your late glorious re-

volution, THE GREAT BODY OF THE CLERGY in this country, and many of those who call themselves the FRIENDS OF THE KING, have long been *my* enemies; and in *accomplishing my ruin*, have *not spared* the instruments of that *science*, my application to which gave some *degree of weight* to my labours *in another field*.

[Appendix to the Appeal—page 156.
Letter to *Condorcet*, par. 2, l. 7.

The violences were committed by the lower order of the people; but if *the friends of the Church*, and *of the King*, in the higher ranks, had been *in earnest* to suppress the riots, it might, *no doubt*, have been effected before *any* mischief had been done.

[Appeal—page 71, line 1.

There was, therefore, at least a *criminal* remissness *in the friends of the Church*, and of *the King*. But the *clearest facts* shew that there was *more than remissness* on the part of *many* persons of *better condition, and nothing that they ever did*, shewed a *real* disapprobation of the conduct of the mob, *previous* to the *demolition* of *my house*—but only a wish that they should proceed *no farther than that*. [Ibid. page 71, line 19.

6. THE TOWN AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BIRMINGHAM.

Making every allowance for the perpetrators and *abettors* of these horrid scenes at the moment, there has been time for reflection, and *compunction* since; and the eyes of the nation, and of all Europe, are open to see what part both *the town*, and *neighbourhood*, and above all, the Government of the country, will take in the case. On the part of *the town and neighbourhood, nothing* favourable to justice has appeared as yet.

[Ibid. page 71, paragraph 2, line 1, to page 72, line 7.

The *whole town* and *neighbourhood* therefore must fall under the suspicion of *screening* the *criminals*, and therefore of *partaking the guilt*. [Ibid. pages 72, 73.

7. PROVIDENCE.

Though I had read, and reflected much on the feelings of Christians in a state of *persecution*, and never doubted, but that in ordinary cases their joys far exceeded their sorrows, I could not *know* that they did so to the degree in which I can truly, and I hope *without much vanity* (for in this I mean nothing but the *instruction* and *encouragement* of my readers) say, that I have lately found it. It is only in trying situations that the full force of *religious principle* is felt, and that its real energy can shew itself. And firmly believ-

ing, from the doctrine of *philosophical necessity*, that the hand of God is in all events, and that in all cases men are only *his* instruments—that under *his* sure guidance *all evil* will terminate in *good*—and that nothing so effectually promotes *any good cause* as the *persecution* of its *advocates*, all that *I have suffered*, and all that *I can* suffer, has, in many seasons of the calmest reflection, appeared as nothing, and less than nothing.

I consider this *persecution*, (for so I shall call it, though my enemies will of course consider it as the punishment of my evil deeds, and much less than I deserve) let it be carried to what extent it will, as a certain prognostic of the prevalence of *every great truth* for which *I have contended;* and this *prospect*, together with the idea of *my* being an instrument in the *hand* of PROVIDENCE of *promoting the spread of important truth by suffering, as well as by acting*, has given me at times such exalted feelings of devotion (mixed, as sentiments of devotion ever will be, with *the purest good-will towards all men, my bitterest* enemies not excepted) as I had but an imperfect idea of before. [Ibid. page 111, paragraph 2, line 1.

So *fully am I persuaded* that more *good* than *evil* will result from what has happened to *me*, that *were it in my power I would not be restored to my former* situation. Had the late events not happened, I should of course have wished, and prayed for continuing as I was: for no man, I believe, ever thought himself more happily situated than I did—but PROVIDENCE *having now* DECLARED ITSELF, *I acquiesce, and even* REJOICE *in the* DECISION.

[Ibid. page 113, paragraph 2, line 1.

RESOLUTIONS

OF

COMMON SENSE ABOUT COMMON RIGHTS.

BY THOMAS BULL.

COMMON SENSE RESOLVES,

I. THAT Subjects have no *common rights,* because *all men* are not fit for *all things:* 1. In their *natural* capacity. The *fool* has no right to sit at the council-board; nor the *coward* to be the leader of an army. 2. In their *moral* capacity. The *thief* has no right to be a *steward* for the *public:* the *idle man* has no right to the *wages* of the *industrious.* 3. Least of all in their *religious* capacity. The *Jew* has no right to be a *Bishop:* the *Turk* has no right to be a *Schoolmaster* for the teaching of *Christian children.* Men have been guilty of more cuelty and injustice and robbery on motives of *false religion,* than on any others whatsoever. *Heathens against Christians—Papists* against *Protestants—Puritans* against the *Church* and *Government* of *England. Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

II. That the *natural rights* of man, are the rights of man in a *state of nature only:* that is, of man considered as an *unsociable independent savage.* These

are, the rights of eating, drinking, sleeping, hunting, fishing, propagating his species, whipping his children, and defending himself against wild men and wild beasts.

III. That as soon as man becomes a member of society, and *property* is *divided* by *authority*, and *secured* by *laws;* he is bound as a *moral agent.* If he takes away the *property* of another man *against law*, he is a *thief:* if he takes away the *life* of another man without law, he is a *murderer*, and the law *hangs him.* All his natural rights are under restraints, and he cannot exercise them at his will, for fear of an *executive power*, ordained to prevent it. They are now no longer *natural*, but are changed into *civil rights.*

IV. That upon the reception of the Christian Religion, natural rights are farther restrained by the *divine authority* of the *ten commandments;* which forbid robbery, murder, false witness, disobedience, and even the desire of another man's property: and man himself rises from a *moral*, into a *religious* agent. And no Christian is a *good* Christian until he acts in obedience to God as the Supreme Lawgiver, and obeys the laws of man *for God's sake.*

V. That therefore, if any member of a Christian Society *now* pleads his *natural rights*, he thereby declares, that he intends to break through the laws of *civil society*, and the restraints of *religion*, and *go back*, as fast as he can, to the *state of nature;* that is, to reduce things, if he and his fellows shall be able, to a *political chaos*, or state of *anarchy*, under which there shall be no *distinction* of *right*, or *property*, but such as they themselves shall be pleased to settle. To presume that property is vested in the *nation at large*, is in virtue of no law existing in the world, nor any *charter* but that of *Beelzebub.*

If all the beasts of the forest and the desert were mingled into one society with sheep, goats, oxen, and horses; against which God's providence hath wisely provided; Common Sense foresees what must happen, when they begin to pursue and exercise their *common rights.* The swine would make his part good by his impudence; and his hard snout would lay waste our fields and gardens at his pleasure. *Foxes* and other vermin would no longer be *thieves,* because there would be no *law* to make them such: they would take what they wanted by *natural right.* The wolves would scatter the sheep and tear them in pieces. The dogs, having no master to encourage and direct them, would forget their duty and join the enemy: and thus the best part of the animal creation would become a prey to the worst. The dogs might perchance quarrel with a wolf; but as this would happen, not out of *friendship* to the *sheep,* but only out of *hatred* to the *wolves,* the poor sheep would be no gainers. All these circumstances will hold good in human society: for mankind, like other creatures, are distinguished by birth, humour, and education, into the *wild* and the *tame,* the *cunning* and the *simple,* the *peaceable* and the *rebellious,* the *temperate* and the *insatiable,* the *harmless* and the *blood-thirsty;* and have no more claim to the exercise of *common rights* than the beasts have: of which the absurdity is so plain, that to *show* it, is to *prove* it: and if any man asserts *common rights* in a civilized country where *laws* are established, a *trap* should be set for him as for other *vermin.*

Upon the whole; as it is best for the *beasts* that they should be *under man;* so it is best for *man* that he should be *under God;* and under *Laws divine* and *human:* If he knows his own interest, he will plead for a due *distinction* of *rights,* and *defend* them to the

last drop of his blood: he will *say* and *do* all he can to *strengthen the hands* of the *government* under which he lives, in return for the *security* he enjoys.

Happy is he who is made wise by *seeing* misery in *others*, rather than by *feeling* it in *himself.—Instat lupus, caveat grex:* the wolf is at hand, let the sheep look to themselves: and, above all, let them beware of *wolves* in *sheep's* or *shepherd's clothing*.

December 12, 1792.

ONE PENNY-WORTH OF TRUTH,

FROM

THOMAS BULL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

DEAR BROTHER,

THERE has always been such a good understanding between us, that you and I can speak our minds freely to one another. Our father, you know, always maintained the character of a blunt, honest, sensible man; and our mother was as good a sort of woman as ever lived. They gave us the best teaching they could afford, and the neighbours have never counted us fools. But some people are taking great pains to make us so, and rogues into the bargain. They have tried their skill upon me, and so they will upon you; but I write you this letter to give you warning, that you may look to yourself. For it seems, John, you and I are now to learn every thing from those conceited monkeys the French. Nobody knows any thing now but they, and some Englishmen at home, who hate this country as bad as the French do. With talking about right and equality, and constitution and organization, and such like, they made my head turn round: but I see now pretty well what they mean.

They begin with telling us *all mankind are equal:* but that is a lie, John; for the children are not equal to the mother, nor the mother to the father; unless where there is *petticoat government;* and such fami-

lies never go on well: the children are often spoiled, and the husband brought to a gaol. But I say people are not equal. The clerk is not equal to the parson; the footman is not equal to the squire; the thief at the bar is not equal to the Judge upon the bench. If it were as they say, then the clerk might get up into the pulpit, the footman might sit at the top of the table, the thief might take his place upon the bench and try the judge, and the coachman might get into the coach and set his master upon the box; who not knowing how to drive, 'tis ten to one but he overturns him. Pretty work we should have with their equality: but, let us have patience and go on with them.

You and I were taught that God governs the world, and that nobody has any power in it but such as he gives them: *there is no power but of God:* and our Saviour allowed it even in Pontius Pilate, the Roman judge. But you are to believe now, out of the *French Bible,* that all power is of the people, that is, of you and I, Thomas and John Bull. But if the people in any great national question of difficulty, which is very possible, should be divided into two halves, who are the people then, John? They that lay hold of a sword first, and get to be strongest, will always call themselves the people, and the rest must go to be hanged or lose their heads. If you and I should quarrel about our rights, and there were no law above us, then there's *people Thomas* against *people John,* and we must settle it by a civil war; for when there's no law, there's nothing left but the sword or the halter to settle all differences: so I must cut your throat or you must cut mine. This is what always comes of the power of the people, as it is now in France; where all questions have been carried by cutting off heads and hanging people upon lamp-irons; and then, you know, they

that are hanged can give no vote, and they that are left are all of a mind. But, however, they are as far off from being settled now as they were four years ago; and one of their new kings (*Marat*) said they must have *two hundred and eighty thousand more heads off* before they should be right.

Now for their wise notions about *government.* As all power is in the people, they say there can be no lawful government but what the people make. When all power is taken from those who are now entitled to it by law, and put into the hands of the mob armed with pikes and daggers, that's a *constitution,* John. Then out of this, the said mob raises what they call *organs* and *functions,* and makes a government; but they have been at it in France for four years, and though they have worked very hard sometimes, they have hardly got to the beginning yet. And now have you not sense enough to see what a fine contrivance this is for plundering every gentleman of his property, his house, his land, his goods, and his money, under a pretence that every thing belongs to the *Nation?* And it holds as well, or better, against churches than against private houses. They tell you farther, that no man has a right to any thing but what he earns himself: so if you and I, *John* and *Thomas Bull,* work ever so hard, and leave what we have to bring up our children in the world, they will have no right to it, because they did not earn it themselves. This notion cuts off all right of *inheritance,* which is the most sacred upon earth, and without which it would not be worth while either to work or to live: for the nation may meet, make a new government, and take it all away at a stroke. I'll tell you a story: Some while ago a highwayman met with his death upon the road for demanding a gentleman's money: "That fellow (said a wag)

was a good *patriot;* who, supposing the gentleman might have more money in his pocket than he *had earned,* discovered that it was the property of the nation: so, making *himself* the nation, he only demanded his own property. But the gentleman being rather too quick for him, shot the nation through the head, and spoiled the new principles of government." This was bad luck: that man might have lived to have given us a continuation of *Thomas Paine.* And now, John, I'll tell thee plainly, this new notion of government from the mob, is the foolishest, as well as the most rascally, that ever entered into the world: and the very people, that have raised themselves to power and plunder by it, will be fools enough to deny it. They will be telling us presently how God has fought for the French against the Prussians and Austrians; while they don't believe there's a God in the world.

Let us hear next what they have to say about kings. We are shortly to have no more of them, neither *below* nor *above: Tom Paine* having been heard to declare, that when he had made revolutions against the kings upon earth, he would try his hand at a *revolution in Heaven!* You see, John, who they are that talk against kings: they never fail to talk against God Almighty; and in such words as the devils of hell dare not utter! When they pretend to argue with us, they tell us, all kings are bad: that God never made a king: and that all kings are very expensive. But, that all kings are bad cannot be true; because God himself is one of them: he calls himself *King of Kings;* which not only shows us he is a king, but that he has *other kings under him:* he is never called *King of Republics.* The Scripture calls kings *the Lord's anointed:* but who ever heard of an anointed re-

public? There are now, brother John, many thousands of Frenchmen, who have taken to themselves that power which belonged to their king: where shall we get oil enough to anoint them all? And what would they be when we had done it? They would not be the Lord's anointed; they would be the *mob's anointed:* and there is little doubt but that, proud as they are at present, somebody will *anoint* them well at last.

That God never made a king is a great lie; when we hear him telling us in his own words—*yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Sion!* Did not our Saviour say he was *King of the Jews;* and was not he crucified for saying so? The Jews who crucified him have never had a king of their own from that day to this: not because they dislike a king, but because they are not good enough to have one. They are the only nation upon earth that ever were or ever will be in a state of equality: and it has been a great and mighty work of God to make them so. No power can make men equals, but that which makes men kings. And what should we get by it? We should be just where the Jews are; a proverb to all nations; a monument of the divine wrath; and a disgrace to the world.

Kings are very expensive things, said the Presbyterian at Birmingham, when they were going to make their French revolution dinner.

That may be true, brother John: but if kings keep us from such miseries as the *want of a king* has produced in France, they deserve to be well maintained, let them be who they will. When there is *no king,* then every man *does that which is right in his own eyes;* and, mind, John, not in the eyes of *any body else:* and you may see in your Bible, how people were

given up to sodomy and murder, and how sixty-five thousand of them presently fell in battle, because there was nobody at that time set over them. Look about you like a man of sense, and you will soon see that bad subjects cost more money than good kings. Our national debt, for which we are now paying such heavy taxes, was doubled by the troubles in *America*, all brought upon us from the beginning by the Dissenters, there and here. Did not Dr. *Price* write for them? And did not the Birmingham doctor (late one of the kings elect of France) encourage them, and write mob-principles of government to justify them? Yet these people, who brought our burdens upon us, are they that rail most at the expensiveness of our government, and use it as a handle for overturning it: just like the devil, who drives men into sin, and then gets them damned for it if he can: and then he is pleased, because he delights to be the author of *misery*: that is his *greatness*; and some people have no notion of *any other*: so they massacre poor priests; rob and plunder their country and their church; put kings and queens in prisons; and then sing *ça Ira*, for joy that *Hell is broke loose!*

I have nothing more to say (till my next letter) but that the government which is most wicked, be the form of it what it will, is generally the weakest in itself, and the most expensive to the people: and so, after all that can be said, *honesty is the best policy*, and the *honest* man is the best *subject*. Keep this in your mind, brother John; and farewell.

From your loving brother,

THOMAS BULL.

1792.

P. S. Perhaps they may tell thee, John, that thou

hast nothing to lose, and that any change may be to thy advantage; but thou hast a *body* and a *soul:* and if thy body goes to the gallows, and thy soul to the devil, won't that be a *loss,* John?

ONE PENNY-WORTH MORE,

OR

A SECOND LETTER

FROM

THOMAS BULL TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

DEAR BROTHER,

So kindly as you have received my former letter, I feel as if I should be much wanting in my duty, if I did not send you a few more of my thoughts, at this critical time. The hand of Providence, brother John, is very manifest: all my neighbours see it, and talk about it. The French, they say, are as great an example of *punishment* as of *perfidy*. They tried to ruin *old England*, by sending their soldiers to fight against our government in *America;* and in so doing they taught them the evil lesson of fighting against their *own* government at home. They came back with *the itch* of rebellion upon them, and gave it to their old comrades; while our honest fellows, who took the other side, brought home as much loyalty, or more, than they carried out, and have kept it ever since. The boundless expenses of that wicked attempt, by land and by sea, brought the French nation to *beggary:* and from *beggars* they turned into *thieves:* like the *gipsies*, who are either the one or the other as it suits their

convenience: and so they have got a *gipsy government.* Their famous *Fayette* is fallen, with all his money, into the hands of the enemy: and may forfeit his head if he comes home. Such is the fate of their noble general. The poor king, when he set his hand to that vile treaty with *America,* did not foresee that he was signing his own *death-warrant.* The queen, who persuaded him (because she never *loved the English*) is in prison with him: both of them in danger of being murdered (if they are not already) by a *mock-trial,* like our *king Charles.* These are strange things, brother John, and almost make my hair stand on end! Many people said, years ago, it would come home to them; and now their words are fulfilled beyond all that could have been thought of: for the French are at this time the most distracted nation under Heaven; and, what is worse, they are the most wicked. Was not their good-will to this country the same as ever, when they picked out two famous Englishmen, *Thomas Paine* and the *Birmingham doctor,* to sit in their new assembly, and assist them in the work of teaching *John Bull* to eat *revolution-soup,* dished up with human flesh and French pot-herbs? I love liberty *with law,* such as we have in England, as well as any body does; but that liberty *without law,* which makes men *eat* one another, can come only from the devil, who would eat us all. I thought those frightful stories that came from France were past belief: but a gentleman of our county, who was there last summer, says he will take his Bible oath before any justice, that he saw the blood of people they had killed run out of the mouths of their murderers.—When they had shut up three hundred and fifty poor helpless priests in a pound, and were putting them to death as one would kill hogs for the navy, an English gentleman was walking along the

street, and heard a soldier say, as the muskets were firing in that bloody massacre. "*Aha! they are shewing the priests fine sport there.*" A man will stand at his door, and see his next neighbour dragged out of his house, to have his throat cut by villains in the street, and take no more notice, than if the parish officers had called upon the man for a poor's rate or a window tax! When an English gentleman, seeing a raw head carried along, and the corpse shamefully dragged after it, only advised them to bury it, they seized him, and cut off his head and threw it among the mob. This is French liberty, my boy. Our king (God bless him) is contented if a man pulls his *hat* off: but to these new tyrants of France, he must pull his *head* off; and even then they are not satisfied: they sell his house and land from his family, and put the money into the purse of the *nation*, that is, of *themselves*. What think you of an impudent whore of Babylon, riding along the streets on horseback, at the head of a troop, with a long sword by her side, and pistols in her belt, like the *goddess of liberty;* and if she did but point with her finger at any person going along the street, his head was off in a moment. There's *petticoat government* for you! *John Bull.* "France and England (says the Birmingham doctor, as the representative of this kingdom) have now discovered the secret that it is their *interest* to be *friends.*" It may be *his* interest, and it may be *their* interest; but it will never be *our* interest, till *Tom Bull* turns into *Tom Fool*, and Englishmen are changed into a nation of villains. It would, no doubt, be a pleasant sight to some folks, if we were to pull down King Charles and his horse at Charing Cross, and set up the idol of liberty (that she-devil of the French) for fools to dance about, and sing *hymns* with *Tom of Bedlam* for their

clerk. This would bring people together; and when they were together, they would take heat, just as horse-dung does, when it is laid in a heap. This is the use of your *liberty trees*, popular *clubs*, and *revolution dinners*, &c.

When we talk about *kings*, it reminds me of what happened here very lately. A man, like a London rider, thrust himself in amongst us at a public house. He talked at a high rate about French liberty, and the tyranny we live under at home, he laughed at the *nonsense* and *blasphemy* of kings having authority from Providence: what, said he, are we such fools as to believe that kings are sent down *booted* and *spurred* from the clouds to *ride* mankind? Some of the company stared at him, and looked as if they felt the spurs in their sides: but, says I, hold a little, Mr. Londoner, you don't put that case quite right. You know, we must all be ridden by *somebody*; for we cannot ride upon *ourselves*. When a *good* horse carries a *gentleman*, he is as well pleased as his master: but suppose, Mr. Londoner, said I, suppose he should take it into his head to throw his master, that he might be ridden by *his equals!* then in that case, you know, Mr. Londoner, he will have a *horse* upon his back instead of a *man*; ay, twenty, or a hundred horses, all clambering upon his back at once, till they break him down, and he is fit for nothing but the dogs. This is my way of understanding *liberty* and *equality*. And now, go and ask your Birmingham doctor how much that horse will *better himself*. This is the way they have *bettered* themselves in France. They that will not carry a *King*, shall have the *beasts of the people* upon their backs; and the poor fools are pleased, because they think it will be their turn to ride next. Every body can see how bad it would be for horses to

carry horses; and it is always the same thing when the people carry the people.

After this Londoner was gone we found he was one of those fellows who are hired to go about with *Tom Paine's* books: but he did not think proper to produce them: if he had, we should have put them into a *pitch-kettle*, and stirred them about well, and then burned the pitch and the books together: this being the proper end of that *black doctrine*, which some men put into others to *set the world on fire*.

And now, *Brother John*, if you find I am a little better taught than you expected, I will tell you how it happened. Our minister takes us all now and then, rich and poor, to dine with him. One day after dinner, when we had lighted our pipes, and neighbours were talking to one another about common things, he gave a rap upon the table to call our attention, and when he saw we were all ready, he began as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,

"Wicked people are at work to corrupt your minds with a frantic affection for *unlawful liberty*, by giving *false* and *nonsensical* notions of *civil society*. I will therefore show you, in a plain way which you can easily understand, the danger to which all governments are now exposed from the arts of designing people.

"In countries where they feed their flocks a little differently from what we are used to, four parties are concerned; the *sheep*, the *shepherd*, the *dogs*, and the *wolves*. Once upon a time, the wolves wanted to have the sheep to themselves; and thought it would be best if they could eat them with their own consent. So they sent messages to them

privately, wondering how sheep, in *these enlightened times*, should have no more spirit, than to live under that Tyrant the Shepherd; and telling them how happy they would all be if *he* were out of the way; and how they hoped soon to see all those ruffians the shepherds worried out of the world. But how to get at the shepherd they did not know, because of the dogs: so they sent another message to corrupt the dogs; telling them how sorry they were to see them living upon *stale crusts* and *sour butter-milk*, when there would be soon mutton enough for them all, if they would but come over to their interest. So they got the dogs to their side; made the shepherd fly for his life; and then began to kill the sheep: of which when the sheep complained, they told them it was *all for their good;* that a great *improvement* had taken place, which must cost a great many lives; but that all would be right soon. Thus the poor sheep were in a miserable case. The dogs, their old guardians, were now turned traitorous and blood-thirsty: and no justice could be had by complaining of one wolf to another wolf: so they were either worried to death at home, or scattered over the mountains, in hourly danger both from dogs and wolves, and with no shepherd to protect them.

"The wolves having succeeded so well, sent to their brethren in other countries: and the *wolf-principles* grew so fast, that the species of sheep were nearly extinct, and there was now a new world of wolves; who, when there are no sheep left, must fall upon the dogs whom they used for their convenience, and at last devour one another.

"Neighbours," continued he, "you have heard and read so much lately, that you will want little of my

help in applying the story to what has happened in a neighbouring country. The Shepherd is the *King;* driven from his throne, and in danger of his life from his traitorous subjects; whose hearts were first poisoned by the enemies of all religion, permitted to corrupt the people, and spread their atheistical opinions without controul. The wolves are the pretended Patriots and Democrats, who have got the nation into their own clutches, and can kill whom they please, without law, judge, or jury: there being now no law but their own savage will; and so the vilest of murderers go without punishment. The *dogs,* those faithful and warlike animals, are the French army; once the guardians of the King and the People; and kept for their security against thieves, rebels, and invaders; but now, bribed with plunder; with no sense of honour left; and carrying about war, to levy contributions from innocent people, and spread their new *Liberty,* as *Mahomet* did his *fools paradise,* by the terrors of the sword: and they are assisted in all this by an infatuation peculiar to this time, and never heard of before in the world. The poor silly sheep are the bulk of the people; first gulled into vile opinions, and then devoured by their unmerciful and insatiable fellow-subjects. The country of France has of late taken up a new *political slang,* or cant-language, accommodated to their new monster of a government, and put it into a catechism for women and children; while the Christian catechism is kicked out of doors. Hitherto they have murdered and plundered with as little difficulty as a gang of wolves devour sheep and lambs. They have made money of the possessions of the church; they have robbed their King of all his treasures to an immense value; they have seized

and sold the estates of their countrymen, for not approving their proceedings, which no man of sense or humanity can endure. But all this is not sufficient, without plundering and taxing the cities and countries round about them. Where this will end, God knows! A prospect of their devouring one another, when their supplies of plunder shall be drained and wasted, is all that appears at present. Before which, infinite mischief may be done; and we ourselves may suffer; unless the *shepherd*, the *sheep*, and the *faithful dogs* shall hold together against the *wolves*."

A few such discourses as this, brother John, would save our country from all the perils of the present times, and as soon as I learn more, you may expect to hear farther from your loving brother,

THOMAS BULL.

December 12, 1792.

A

LETTER

TO

JOHN BULL, ESQ.

FROM HIS

SECOND COUSIN THOMAS BULL,

AUTHOR OF THE

FIRST AND SECOND LETTERS

TO HIS

BROTHER JOHN.

A

LETTER

TO

JOHN BULL, ESQ.

SIR,

You belong to an honourable branch of our family; but you have never despised your poor relations. I am therefore well assured, that this address, which comes from one of them, will meet with a kind reception. To *Brother John* I can say what I please, and treat him with a jest or two, when he wants it, because he and I are upon easy times: but when I speak to You, Sir, I must observe the formalities due to a person of a superior station.

Thomas Bull is a plain *farmerly* man, given up to the business of his calling, and finding in it that contentment, which you great gentlemen do not always find in the higher ways of life. It must be some pressing occasion which draws him out of his obscurity, to embroil himself with adversaries of more words than he has to spare: he knows with how much trouble and hazard to himself, every man that undertakes it, must encounter public error; and that they, who cannot answer, will never cease to rail. But he is supported under these discouragements by some short and plain considerations. He is told of human life, that the way of it is a pilgrimage; and that the

time of it is short. He must therefore pass through the world as he would ride through a town; where, if the people are rude, and the boys stout, and the dogs bark, a little patience and a quiet horse will soon convey him to the silence and safety of a private road. It was also inculcated very early into his mind, that no danger is to be avoided when the good of our country is at stake, and that it is far more eligible to perish *for* it than *with* it. If life itself is due to our country, every wise and honest man will readily offer to it his care and his reputation. He saw with how much industry that wicked libel of *Thomas Paine* was dispersed, and even conveyed by stealth (like a rotten egg) into people's pockets, to poison the minds of the common sort, and prepare them for some deadly mischief; how it was posted up, to be sold, even along with old shoes, and butcher's meat. He heard how the approach of equal liberty and equal property, the universal downfal of Royalty and Religion, were trumpeted about by persons affected to the anarchy of *France;* he had also received private intimations of a confederacy of a very dangerous description: and though not with such evidence as was clear enough to bring it forward, yet sufficient to alarm a private person, and convince him that some great evil was intended: that no time was to be lost, and that no language could be too strong to secure the people against the prevailing delusion of *French* politics. Common understandings having been deceived, were to be addressed in a common way, and argued with from the plain principles of common sense and religious duty, such as they imbibed when they learned their Catechism; and such as *Thomas Bull,* having always been used to them, could handle better than any other. The man in lower life, who writes by the light of a

farthing candle, cannot be expected to see so far into some things as gentlemen do who burn wax. His first address, however, with all its faults, was received with unexpected approbation, and had certainly a great and sudden effect in opening the eyes and pacifying the minds of the common people *. But as one man's good is another man's evil (which, by the way, renders *equal liberty* an impossibility in nature), great disapprobation was also to be apprehended. If there was a design to introduce a French Government, and that design was in any forwardness, and *Thomas Bull* happened to come across with his Letter just at the critical time to intercept it; gentlemen who were well inclined to such a government would be a little ruffled and discomposed. The defeat arising from that, and other co-operating causes, would add to their former *malignity* the rage of *disappointment.*

It was easy to foresee, that for the use of any *religious* argument, it might be objected to *Thomas Bull*, that he revives the Doctrines concerning government, which (as some would have it) were given up at the Revolution in 1688. But Mr. *Burke* hath very ably and very seasonably taught us, that the Revolution of that time did not alter the hereditary government of this kingdom, but left laws and doctrines as sacred as they were before. The Revolution in *France* hath abolished them all: it is treason there to cry *God save*

* It is supposed, that in the English and Welsh Languages, two hundred thousand copies were dispersed; and that by a *multitude of Editors*; amongst whom there was one *Dissenter*, if not more, who printed it without correcting or curtailing it, as some other persons did; who would probably have done more good to the Public, and acquired more honour to themselves, if they had stood their ground. Other gentlemen, of the same good intention with themselves, did so; and found themselves able to maintain it.

the King: If it were so here, our *theatres* would be as guilty as our *churches.* We are still a *Christian Nation,* and may talk and reason, may say or *sing,* as if we were so; till the time shall come, which Heaven avert, when we shall be allowed neither to speak nor to write, but at the will of such despots as have taken away the liberty of the press in France. When a government is to be overturned, the licentious use of the press is demanded; but when it *is* overturned, the press is strictly guarded, and printers are hanged up, lest it be overturned *again;* and then we see at last what patriots meant by the *Liberty of the Press.* If we assert any alliance between the Powers of Earth and the Powers of Heaven, we must expect to be accused of setting up an *indefeasible divine right;* a sort of right not to be found in the Bible, but by those who can see farther than *Thomas Bull.* He is indeed very plainly taught, that the *Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men;* but he knows better than to expect that any statesman, as such, will second him in the application: because this is an article of doctrine, not a rule of government. Every good government supposes it; but no government immediately acts upon it; till it maintains, with the fanatics of the last century, that *grace* and *dominion* go together. How much worse than these are the fanatics of the present time; who do not act *under* God by *mistake,* but *against* God by *profession!*

It was also apprehended, that such of our *Dissenters,* as had been notoriously active in spreading the doctrines of *Thomas Paine;* and who keep up an *interest* against the Church, not for *conscientious scruples,* but for *political purposes,* would be stung when they were reminded of any share they might have in the *troubles* of *America,* out of which proceeded the

troubles of *France:* and exclaim against the suggestion as a *libel* upon the whole body. But such an interpretation is reckoned very uncandid in all other cases of the kind; and has not been insisted upon by those among them, who, if the reflection were general, would have reason to be offended. When it is said, that the outrages at *Birmingham* were committed by *the Churchmen,* it would be very unjust to apply this to the whole body of the Church of England; the peaceable and pious members of which disclaim and abhor such violent and illegal proceedings. If Dr. *Priestley* had offended against the laws and the peace of his country, he should have been punished by the law. That his adversaries should act in such a manner as to expose *themselves* to punishment instead of *him,* was probably the very thing he wished for; that with some show of reason, he who had so indiscreetly acted for his *own* party, might cast the blame of it upon other people. It would be a long question, if we were to go into the origin and causes of the troubles in *America,* most of which, however, are pretty well known: and I hear of a very respectable gentleman, who has by him in manuscript a series of small pieces, composed at the *time,* and upon the *spot,* in which they are faithfully noted and laid open. As nothing of the kind has yet appeared, it is pity these pieces have been so long kept from the eye of the public. That some of the Dissenters had a large share in those troubles cannot be denied; because they have claimed the *honour* of it; and surely it would be inconsistent, if not ridiculous, to repel as *an accusation* what has been publicly boasted of as a *merit.* The words of Dr. *Priestley* in his discourse at the funeral of Dr. *Price,* are very remarkable, and decisive upon the case. "So ardent was his zeal for the *natural rights*

of men, and so forcibly and effectually did he plead the cause of liberty, civil and religious, that no inconsiderable proportion of the human race acknowledge his writings to have been of eminent use to their attainment of those great *blessings*: and the most august assembly in the world, by which I wish to be understood the *national assembly of France*, have justly styled him the *Apostle of Liberty*." p. 8. To his *apostolical labours* the blessings in *America* are here imputed by Dr. *Priestley*. But then it happened unfortunately, that *their blessings* were *our troubles*: and when he imputes blessings, and we impute troubles, to the same cause, we are agreed as to the fact, and only view the same subject on a different side. Thus it is in respect to the affairs of France: what to us is *rebellion*, to them is the *sovereignty of the people*; and what to us is an attempt to restore the constitution, to them is rebellion; the only sort of rebellion now remaining in the world: where we see massacre, they see deliverance; what we call anarchy, they call government; and what is misery in our eyes, is enjoyment in their's. But then this is not true of *all* the people of *France*; thousands of whom sit by in silent captivity, weeping over the ruins of their country. So when we speak of the *Dissenters*, the worth of individuals is always to be excepted; and *Thomas Bull* himself will be as ready as any body to make the exception, where it is *due*. Nothing should be marked for censure, but the restless *spirit* of a *faction*; which, wherever it is found, is always of pernicious effect; for *parties* never blush; they are so supported by their numbers. A great sin is broken into small shares, so that they can commit enormities without remorse, at which single men would shudder. For the same reason, popular assemblies can do such in-

juries, as no King, being a single person, would choose or dare to do, for the sake of his honour, and perhaps of his life. Many of the Dissenters are as averse as we are to the religious principles of Dr. *Priestley*, and the political principles of *Thomas Paine*; and though their flatterers may not wish it, their friends would have been glad, if they had signified the same by some public act half a year ago, that the wheat might have been separated from the chaff. It is the misfortune of every faction, that they who are *best* among them are led by the *worst*; who, being commonly clever and active persons, have the forming of their schemes, and see to the execution of them. But I say no more of this, because I am informed that a gentleman of great abilities and equal candour intends to expostulate with the Dissenters as to several particulars of their late conduct.

And now, sir, I beg leave to quit the consideration of *my* affairs, that I may talk with you a little about your own, which are of more consequence. From your ancestors you have inherited a good estate, which you will be glad to keep and transmit to your posterity: therefore you have good reason to be alarmed, when a *war* is declared against *property* on the supposed *natural rights of man*. Let us ask then, *who* is *man*? Man, in the abstract, is a being between the Deity and the brute creation; and his rights, in that capacity, can be only against God and against the beasts. There is a third right, which is that of one man against another man; and when we treat of this, we may speak sense. Instead then of saying *man*, in the general, let us say *some man*, and then we may get forward: but the logicians teach us, that they always dwell upon *generals*, who wish to deceive us about *particulars*. Thus *Englishmen*, for example, have their rights against

Frenchmen; and one Englishman has a right against another Englishman; and every *possessor* in the world has a right to what he has got, till somebody else can *show a better.* How is that to be done? Never but by some law, applicable to the case. All actual right is under some law; and, till there is law to distinguish, there is no right; nor any security of possession, till there is an authority to execute the law. Hence the Romans signified *right* and *law* by the same word *jus.* I take *lex* to be the *law* as it is written, and *jus* to be the law as it is administered; from whence comes the word *justice,* which means the administration of law, or distribution of right and property. Hence, if there be no law, there is no justice; consequently, a state of nature, if there were such a thing, must be a state of violence, with no right but that of force, which is the right of the beasts. It is the right a dog has to a bone, which he has taken from another dog, because he was the stronger of the two. A right *above law* is the right of a *despot,* who is a *law to himself,* and becomes such by the power of the sword. A right *without law* is the right of a thief; and every man who asserts it is a thief in *theory;* worse than a thief in practice: as an *evil spirit,* being an *author of sin,* is worse than an *evil man,* who is only a practitioner.

Natural right is a principle, which cannot be brought to any effect, but upon a presumption that the world is now *unoccupied;* or by *divesting* the present possessors, and *laying all property open,* to be scrambled for. By those who have any thing, this principle should be guarded against in time: they only can profit by it, who have nothing, or deserve nothing. Any change will be acceptable to those who cannot change for the worse.

National right has of late made a great noise; but who can discover what it is? If it be a defensive right in a *nation* against their *King*, what will become of it when there is *no King?* If it be a defensive right in one nation against another nation, it must go with the soil of which they are possessed; that is, it must be confined to the *natives;* and then how comes it to pass, that any *rational* rights of *France* can be found in *Thomas Paine* and Dr. *Priestley*, who are *Englishmen? Thetford* and *Birmingham* being within the borders of England, how can the natives of those places have national rights in France? I grant they may be taken into a participation of such rights *de facto;* but then the *philosophy* of national right is either given up, or comes to nothing.

When *man* is taken in the abstract, it is never inquired whether he has any *religion*, or whether he has none; whether he is wise or foolish, white or black: he is taken without his qualities either of mind or body, and without his obligations to God or to man: and then there is nothing left of him but the *animal* called by the name of *man;* and his rights as such are not the rights of a Christian, nor of a civilized, nor of a social being, but of an animal only. I have therefore frequently wondered, why they who assert *rights* to man in this capacity, do not allow the claim of right in *other animals:* and why they do not carry on their principle, where it must go in spite of them, from the rights of man to the rights of beasts. For, so far as right is *natural*, beasts must have it as well as man: and what will it prove? It will prove, in the *rat*, a right to gnaw our victuals and undermine our habitations: in the *fox*, a right to take the poultry: in the *wolf*, a right to eat the sheep; for all creatures have a *right* to *live*, and it is the *nature* of these

creatures to live in this manner. When religion is brought into the question, without which man and the world are both inexplicable, all the difficulty is answered in a moment. We produce our *Magna Charta* of Revelation, which shews us how God has given to man a sovereignty over all the creation; and that *wild beasts are made to be taken and destroyed:* because, as God will one day *cast out of his kingdom all things that offend,* man has authority to do the same thing now in *his* kingdom. This we allow to be one of the rights of man; but not a *natural* right, because it is a right held under a positive law: and he who parts with that law deserves to suffer the consequences, and forfeit the prerogatives of a man: the beasts of the field ought to prevail against him; the horse should kick him; the bull should toss him; the swine should gore him; the serpent should bite him.

If natural rights were extended to the beasts, it is evident, the most evil of them would always have the advantage; and the innocent being weaker, would be sure to suffer. So if men were turned loose to their natural liberty, it is equally certain the worst men would have the most of it. This they themselves know; and that makes them bawl so loud for it: but, to prevent what they wish is the first design of government; and power is given to kings and rulers for this purpose only. As things are now, no man can possibly injure another, without offending against some known law of God: and as God does not execute his own laws in person, others must be appointed to do it for him, and by his authority, not by their own: for then the sovereignty would be not in God, but in them. This is *my* original of government; and I think men never did, nor ever will make sense of any other

scheme. And if after this any gentleman *of property* can spend his wit and his oratory in defending the principle *of natural right* against positive law, he is whetting the axe which is laid to his own root: and his understanding, whatever noise he may make with his tongue, is at last but of a size with that of the poor Irishman, who, sitting on the bough of a tree, chopped on the wrong side of him, and let himself down to the ground.

As for the invention, of which the French revolutionists are now so fond, that *all* power of government must arise by contribution from the people who are governed, and that *no* power *is* legal but what does so arise; these are very rash assertions, not agreeable to the order of nature and the sense of things. And besides, we have a principle here, which, as it is now applied, instantly dissolves the British government. For, if *all legal* power must arise from *popular delegation* (which is now the *French* principle of government) then the power, which doth *not* so arise, but descends by inheritance, is *illegal*: which being the case here with the *crown*, and the *House of Lords*, they must fall of course as soon as this popular principle shall be brought to effect, in its full extent. Therefore let Englishmen be aware, that if what is called a *reform of parliament*, to which the friends of *Thomas Paine* are now transferring their hopes, should come forward on the *French principle*, it must amount to a dissolution of the present government, and the whole system of our laws; and *Magna Charta* itself must go with them, as being a law derived to the people by concession from the crown: for though *Magna Charta* was forced from the king, yet they who forced it from him, did so, because they knew it would not be legal without him. What I here say is not merely from the

reason of the case, though that is plain enough; but is grounded on positive evidence. I have before my eye a piece by the Politician, who styles himself the author of *A Call to the Jews*, and who in the year 1785 struck out for *England*, under the fictitious name of *Utopia*, a plan of Parliamentary Reformation; and took the form of *thirty-nine Articles*, for an insult on the Religious Doctrines of the Church of England: applying to it, in a *Motto*, that text which Dr. *South* applied to Dr. *Burnet—forty stripes save one*. By these articles of reform, all persons *promoted by a King or by a minister*, and all *grandees*, that is, all who are noble by birth or by creation, are excluded, with *convicts* and *madmen*, from having any share in the *Legislative Delegation*. This curious publication let the *Fox* out of the bag very early: and the author of it has been remarkable for the simplicity and integrity of mind, with which he has always betrayed his own schemes and those of his party.

I would request you, Sir, farther to observe, how this new opinion, of there being *no legitimate power* but by *popular delegation*, totally excludes the Providence of God from having any share in the Government of Nations: and indeed they who argue for it do generally speak throughout, as if *God was not in all their thoughts*. They call the belief of Divine Providence by the cant name of *Superstition;* a word which, in their mouths, includes all *true Religion;* and openly declare they *must destroy it, or it will destroy them*. But does not every school-boy know, how many Governments have arisen in the world from the sole principle of conquest, and lasted for ages? and is not this principle, though disavowed for convenience, still lurking behind the curtain in France; where the sword in the hand of one party has erected a govern-

ment upon the ruins of another party? All Europe can answer the question. When authority and power were any where established on the principle of conquest, he that gave the victory made the Government: and therefore he claims a prerogative of *putting down one, and setting up another.* He is therefore called the *Lord of hosts,* that is, of *armies;* and celebrated as a *man of war;* because the armies of the world ever were under his direction, and ever will be; though *the heathen furiously rage together, and the people imagine a vain thing;* even that vainest of all vain things, an imagination, that they can dethrone God, and govern the world in his stead, by their *own laws* and their *own providence!* When the *Jews* were to be destroyed, and the *Romans* went against them for that purpose, the parable had foretold, that *the King (God)* should send forth *his* armies: and when the same nation was captive under the *Assyrians,* he commanded his people to submit to them; to *pray for the life of Nabuchodonosor* and of *Balthazar, his son;* even as our Saviour allowed the *Roman* power in *Judea* by *paying tribute* to it; and even working a miracle to enable himself so to do. This was a government by conquest: and, by the laws of God such Governments are valid, though the feelings of man do not find them agreeable in theory. Strike off the power of Divine Providence; and strike off the laws of Religion; and then, and not till then, we may derive all Government by a delegation from the people: it is therefore nothing wonderful, that this principle and atheism should go together, as they now do in *France;* and whether atheism begets *it,* or it begets atheism, is not worth a dispute. Yet after all I have said on delegated power, I desire you, Sir, who are a moderate man, to observe, that I deny no more than

the *universality* of the principle, as applied to Government. I hold it utterly untrue to affirm, that *all* power must arise by delegation: and as untrue to say, that *no* power doth so arise; because we see in fact a part of the power of our own Government undoubtedly so constituted. I would therefore here keep a *middle path;* to secure Government from *insult* on one hand, and *presumption* on the other.

Government is sometimes rendered odious and frightful, because it provides for the public defence by a standing army. But the truth of the case is this: every Gentleman must either defend his property *himself*, or hire somebody else to do it for him. If good men will learn the use of arms, and be ready on occasion to defend themselves in person, which might be a good thing, and is already done in part by the establishment of our *Militia*, there will be of consequence less call for standing forces. But after all, what is the evil of a standing army, compared with that of a *Paris Mob?* I use myself to consider this world as an *highway;* and the case of every Government as parallel to that of a stage-coach upon the road. A military force is as necessary to a nation, as a guard is to defend the passengers from robbers. But then an army may be an Engine of Tyranny; so it may: but much worse, when it is under demagogues who are *afraid of it*, and must keep it in good humour by *glutting it with plunder*, than when it is under a King, who has the command of it by Law. The guard behind may turn his blunderbuss upon the passengers in the coach; and so may every provision for our security in this world be turned to our destruction. Our victuals may choak us: but surely they are foolish people, who expose themselves to danger which is obvious and certain, through a ridi-

culous fear of that which is imaginary; and give up their purse to a highwayman, because the guard may misuse his weapons. Nothing demonstrates to me so fully the fanatical absurdity of the French Political Philosophy, as the notion with which they first set out; *viz.* that we should have no more war when we had no more kings. For, will there be no more highwaymen upon the road, when there is no longer a coachman upon the box? And was ever war carried about so wantonly, and executed so severely, as by the French under their new Republic? And were the French Soldiery ever such Instruments of Tyranny, as since they proved faithless to their Kings and their Laws? Take away the sword from the King, and give it to the people; and what shall we get by it? We shall fall into the hands of a faction; about whom, all the rogues and beggars of the nation will assemble, and form a lawless power, more troublesome and merciless than any single tyrant upon earth.

Which is the best for society, a *monarchy*, or a *republic?* is a question much agitated of late, and happy would it be, if it might be decided rather by the pen than by the sword. On the republican side, there is the great learning of Mr. *Thomas Paine*, and the arms of the French nation: for the French, finding their tongues fail them in the argument, set the mouths of their cannons and mortars to dispute for them. On the monarchical side, there is the experience of mankind; the general rule of Providence; and the arms of the greater part of Europe. To follow this great question, Sir, in its detail, is not my intention, neither would a short piece, like this, admit of it. I shall therefore throw together a few facts and observations, out of which something like an answer might be framed.

History does not inform us, that any government of the popular form existed in the world, till the republics of *Greece* and *Rome* were generated of rebellion and regicide. *Egypt* was a great and flourishing kingdom, about a thousand years before they were heard of. From the account of the *Trojan* war, we find that Greece was then divided into monarchical states: and the writers, who give a history of the Roman and Grecian republics, are obliged to confess, that all the states upon earth were originally under kings (*Initio reges*, nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit.*) And what is more, they allow this to have been the *legitimate* form of government (*imperium legitimum nomen imperii regium habebat,*) as being the only form agreeable to the laws of nature: for every *body* must have a *head,* and that head can properly be but *one:* and when the body of the Roman State took *two heads* instead of one, this form was introduced (*more immutato*) as an innovation; and with it came in the new doctrine of the power of the populace, never before heard of: as the world had never before heard of a body with *two heads,* but under the character of *a monster.* The state of the *Hebrews,* as soon as they emerged from Egyptian slavery, was a monarchy under *Moses,* who is called *king in Jeshurun.* He was in alliance with the *Church,* the head of it being his brother; and he was assisted by a *council,* who joined with him in the government of the people: and in this we have the outlines of every good government which hath since been established in the world. Mr. *Thomas Paine,* in his capacity of a political divine, would make us believe, that regal government is contrary to the will of God, because God is said to have given the Hebrews

* Sallust—Bell. Cat.

a king in his wrath, when he gave them *Saul.* Under what circumstances he did this, and in what sense the thing was wrong, the staymaker of *Thetford* was not qualified to distinguish. But if you look at the history, you will see, that when Saul was appointed, there was no change of the species of government, but only of the person. From their settlement in Canaan, God was their king, as he tells them, and some prophet was his prime minister, who happened at that time to be the prophet *Samuel.* But they took a dislike to this *religious* kind of *polity,* as they had before taken a distaste to the *manna* in the wilderness; and demanded a military leader; a *soldier-king,* such as the heathen nations had who were round about them. With this God was offended, though he assented to their demand, because, in requiring a mortal king, they had rejected *him:* and therefore he tells *Samuel,* his minister, *they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me from being king over them.* To make our case in England parallel to this; and to shew from the case of the Hebrews, that we ought not to have George the Third for our king, at least that God will be in *wrath* with us if we take him, some monstrous suppositions must be made: as, that George the Second was the divinity of the people of England, and that the duke of *Newcastle,* his minister, was a prophet: but this being totally inadmissible, it is preposterous to argue from one of these cases to the other; and if God gave Mr. *Thomas Paine* who has done this, to be an interpreter of the Scripture to the people of *England,* it must have been an act of his *wrath.*

The Roman historians confess, that all that order and dignity of their state, that plan of their city, those arts and ensigns of war, which, with many other par-

ticulars, were the foundation of their future greatness, were wholly derived from the authority and wisdom of their kings; who are said to have settled all things in so exact a form, that the œconomy of their state was as well regulated as that of a private family by the father or the master of it. And so was the œconomy of this kingdom, as it subsists even to this day, chiefly derived from the wisdom and attention of one great *Alfred*; in whom, with the character of a king, we find the patriot, the scholar, the hero, and the saint.

After Rome became a republic, it was so divided in its authority, that it could not act with effect in cases of any great and sudden emergency; and therefore it retained a stated provision, that in all such cases it should resolve itself into a monarchy under the absolute power of a dictator: and every reader of their history knows how often they were saved by the expedient of suspending the authority of their *two* supreme magistrates, and returning to the order of nature, which to one body gives but one head. We are shocked when we see how they provided against the return of royalty by every possible act of ingratitude and severity: fathers cutting their children to pieces on suspicion of loyalty: the populace disgracing their best friends, and even destroying the deliverers of their country, through a jealousy of their turning themselves into kings. For as royalty was reputed the greatest of evils, ingratitude, perfidy, cruelty, and all other evils, transformed themselves into virtues, if they were practised to exclude it.

Republics, some say, are to be preferred for their cheapness; none of that expense being required, which is necessary to keep up the state of a king and his officers. But the observation is not agreeable to fact. The kings of Rome lived upon their own territories,

but the republic aimed as much at universal *property* as universal *empire*; they drew money from all nations; and their pro-consuls were every where kept with the state and the expensiveness of monarchs, subsisting on that property, to which they had no right but from their ambition and the power of the sword. Our first commonwealth in England, which was raised on the ruin of Charles the First and of the people, cost the nation more money, and raised more taxes, than all their kings before, from William the Conqueror, put together: more in ten or twelve years than the kings in five hundred. And if the French nation compute fairly their charges of the last year, they will find nothing like it in the annals of their *kings*.*

* It has been computed, that they have lately expended twelve millions sterling in a month. To shew how the world imposes upon itself in respect to the expensiveness of government, I beg leave to introduce the following observation on the expensiveness and tyranny of the republic of Holland, from Sir *William Temple*. "Thus this stomachful people, who could not endure the least exercises of arbitrary power or impositions, or the sight of any foreign troops under Spanish government, have since been inured to all of them, in the highest degree, under their own popular magistrates; bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces; and oppressed with the most cruel hardship and variety of taxes that was ever known under any government; but all this, whilst the way to office and authority lies through those qualities which acquire the general esteem of the people; whilst no man is exempted from the danger and current of laws; whilst soldiers are confined to frontier garrisons (the guard of inland and trading towns being left to the burghers themselves); and whilst no great riches are seen to enter by public payments into private purses, either to raise families, or to feed the prodigal expences of vain, extravagant, and luxurious men; but all public monies are applied to the safety, greatness, or honour of the state, and the magistrates themselves bear an equal share in all the burdens they impose." *Observations on the United Provinces and their Government.*

It is farther objected to monarchies, that they are productive of wars, from the ambition of princes: but Republics have generally been much more productive of them; and the man must be as ignorant as a child who denies it. How often did the Roman Republic betake itself to the expedient of foreign war, as the only remedy against those domestic feuds and disturbances, which arose naturally in their government, from the mock-equality of the whole, and the conjunct tyranny of the few? Did they not carry wars all over the world, more than any nation had ever done before them: while the Monarchy of the Hebrews, when once settled, never extended itself beyond its natural limits? Its powers were all employed for the benefit of its own internal œconomy: all its wars were defensive. But did not Rome and Carthage, two Republics, fight to the last extremity, each suffering slaughter and devastation in its turn, and sweeping down great and opulent cities with their train, for nothing but superiority; and nothing could pacify the one but the extirpation of the other. After this, I think we need not go to kingdoms and monarchies for the slaughterous effects of ambition and avarice.

The Romans, by their own account of themselves, inherited a barbarous and savage spirit from the beginning. Their first King, saved, as they say, from a river in his infancy, like *Moses*, was suckled by a wolf: and when his city was building, the rapacious temper of its people was prognosticated by a flight of *vultures*. Upon its first walls *Romulus* slew his brother, consecrating them by the shedding of human blood. Its first stock of inhabitants were begotten of ravished virgins. From such an origin, what could be expected, but that Providence was about to show, from the example of the Romans, what is the temper and quality

of human society, when it is generated, as their first state was, from the ferocious passions and appetites of human nature? For a time they endured the government of their kings; and they would have been nothing without it: but at the end of two hundred years, the wild spirit of republicanism began to work, and they drove out their kings with enthusiastic fury; transferring all the rights of royalty from the *head* to the *body*, and ascribing *sovereign majesty* to the *people*. Whensoever and wheresoever the same spirit arises, it will work in the same way, and use the same language to the end of the world.

At this time we are witnesses to an event of the same kind; but with symptoms of superior wickedness; because that which was best will always become worst when it is corrupted. And it is curious to observe how closely the French have followed the Romans in the degeneration of their state; sometimes perhaps by a fatality on their proceedings; but generally from affectation and design, as pedants in rebellion; and their pedantry is such, as to teach the world that their principles are of *heathen* original. When the king was expelled from Rome, the people seized his effects, destroyed his palace, and converted his land into their *Campus Martius;* so the French have now their *Champ de Mars* upon the spot lately occupied by the bastile: but when they had emptied and razed one prison of the king, in which (notwithstanding the horrid idea the people had been taught to entertain of it, and which it had, in former times, certainly well deserved) very few prisoners were found, they soon filled a hundred prisons of their own. The project of assassination was adopted at *Rome*, when *Porsena* interposed for the restoration of their king, and three hundred assassins conspired to make away with him: as the French

declared an intention to convey death by some hand, and by some means, to every crowned head in Europe; and it was proposed to embody and equip twelve hundred men for the sole purpose of private assassination. When royalty fell into disgrace at Rome, the female sex grew bold with the new fire of liberty, and have been celebrated by historians for their valour. After which example, ladies in France have affected the martial character, and distinguished themselves in the field. The transformation of monarchical Frenchmen into Republicans, is attended by another as monstrous transformation of women into men; and we know not which we are most to wonder at. Instead of raising themselves to honour, both have forgotten their nature, and are equally out of place. A hen is a respectable animal when she is feeding or brooding her chickens; but in a cockpit she is ridiculous.

The doctrine of *equality* was introduced as a fine principle, when the Romans had changed their government: and their great men, who were too proud to submit to kings, humbled themselves in the most abject terms to the populace; in which they have been followed and exceeded by the new republicans of France; who as soon as they had taken away the head, gave sovereignty to the members, and set the feet uppermost. In these particulars, we see, the French have followed the Romans: but in others they have differed from them to their shame. The Romans were wise enough to know, that they could never be well united, but under the obligations of religion: on which consideration the forms and doctrines, established under the second of their kings, were retained inviolate through all the following ages. They began with the establishment of piety: but our modern republicans began with the abolition of it. The Romans depended religiously

on such Gods as they knew, for the protection of their state, and served them with supplications and thanksgivings; but the French, from all that appears, are of opinion they can better protect themselves, and seem to have no *Deity* left but their Goddess of *Liberty*, with her altars. No heathens ever invaded the property of their priests, or seized lands, tenths, or offerings of any kind set apart for the maintenance of divine worship: but it was one of the first steps of the new government in France to seize all sacred property whatsoever, and reduce their ministers to miserable stipendiaries; dependents upon *them* instead of dependents upon *God*. When the nation of Egypt was driven to the last extremity by a famine, the lands of the priests were spared, though all other lands were alienated. The Romans, when they carried wars about the world, honestly confessed their ambitious intention to make all other nations slaves, under a persuasion that Rome was to be the head of the world. The French on the contrary affect to carry *liberty* to other people—*specie socios adjuvandi, re autem sollicitante prædâ*—their errand is plausible; but it appears in the issue that they are always well paid for it. The freebooters of England would gladly carry the same liberty to all the corporations and market towns in this kingdom, if they might take their goods and money in exchange. In this all are agreed, that they who begin in robbery must go on with it, under some pretence or other: and true it is, all power must be maintained as it is acquired. If it descends by inheritance, it has nothing to do but to maintain the laws, for the laws will maintain it. But if it is acquired by violence, it must be supported by the same; and when any new authority starts up which the laws do not acknowledge, it must render itself respectable by san-

guinary terrors: and woe be to the people who are in such a case!

Much has been said, sir, of late against the *expensiveness* of our government; with design to persuade unthinking people, that if the government were ruined, the nation would be saved. If I were speaking to one of the common people upon this subject, I would desire him to consider, whether he has been taught to confound liberty of plunder with cheapness of living: a doctrine which has been offered as a temptation to many of the soldiery of this country; but by the blessing of God upon their honesty, very few of them have listened to it. When the idle may seize upon the gains of the industrious, to be sure they live cheap for a time, though it seldom lasts long. I would also observe to them farther, that the very persons who are most clamourous against our pecuniary distresses, are they whose politics brought upon us the enormous increase of our national debt: therefore by *them* this complaint is taken up as a convenience, in the use of which they mean no more good to the nation at large than they did before. I would likewise remind them, that a projected equality would be of no general benefit for two reasons: first, because there never will be wealth to the end of the world where there is neither industry nor economy. Many of our murmurers are found amongst those, who can earn high wages for one half of the week, and spend the rest at a public house, to the impoverishing of their wives and families: secondly, because the poor of this country (exclusive of two millions and a half which they receive per annum in the poor rates) do better under the benevolence of the rich, than they would do if they were stewards for themselves. It is the interest of the poor, that all gentlemen should be rich where all gentlemen are

charitable. On every occasion of scarcity and distress, they take delight, and even vie with one another in relieving their poor neighbour. So distinguished is the benevolence of this country above all others (and particularly *France*) that some are of opinion that our national character in this repect is delivered in the Revelation under the name of the church of Philadelphia; and the fate of that church, as there predicted, is agreeable to that promise of the Gospel —*blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* Thus much I would say to the *poor*.

To the *rich* I say, it is a low and sordid policy, which makes *money* the measure of all things. There are some things for which we cannot give too much; and there are others too dear at any price. *Gin* is much cheaper than *Madeira:* and if it be a man's object to be drunk at as small an expence as possible, gin will have the preference. Dr. *Adam Smith* seems to have reasoned wholly on a supposition, that national wealth is national happiness: with a disciple of *Voltaire*, as he was, who thought little or nothing about another life, this might pass: but if a man brings *that* into the question, we shall make a very different estimate of things; for money, which does every thing here, will do nothing there. The expensiveness therefore of government is a topic, from which *Thomas Paine*, who addressed himself chiefly to those who have little to expect in another life, conceived great hopes, and from which our frenchified politicians have boldly predicted our ruin. But, to give it out among its subjects, that a government must soon be ruined, is one sly practice of the seditious to effect its ruin: as, to bring on a revolution, it was trumpeted about in all our coffee-houses by the emissaries of a wicked party, that there would certainly be a revolution in England:

and we may give them the merit of partly believing what they said, because most of them know what *they* were doing to make a revolution. It was the same in France. Their busy republicans spread abroad the belief of a revolution among the people; and I heard of it in England two years before it came to pass, and of the base artifices then in practice to bring it about; which unhappily succeeded but too well on the ill-disposed people they had to deal with. One way of killing a man is, to make him believe he is mortally sick: under which persuasion, he will either be dispirited into his death, or neglect the use of medicine. To you, Sir, who can compare causes and effects, and judge of things with calmness and proper discrimination, I shall confess, that our taxes are very heavy, and the public income very great; but our taxes in England do not affect the lowest ranks of the people, such as day-labourers, like the taxes in *France;* and more than two-thirds of the public income revert again to the nation, being applied to the payment of the interest, and the discharge of the capital, of the national debt, which has been contracting from the Revolution to the end of the last war, in securing the British dominions, and in defending ourselves against a very powerful and ambitious neighbour. If during this period wars have been waged without sufficient occasion, and the wealth of the public thereby improperly expended, every description of men, who have directed the affairs of this country from the revolution to the end of the last war, ought to bear the blame: and it is singular, that the present administration have had no share in augmenting the debt: they have the merit of having contrived a plan for the reduction of it, more likely to be successful, than any hitherto devised; and which will certainly have the effect of consider-

ably reducing the debt, and gradually diminishing the taxes, if the events which are now impending do not force us into a new war. The common annual expenditure of this country, in time of peace, is by no means extraordinary, when we consider the greatness of the country, the extent of our dominions in various parts of the world, and the almost universal commerce, to which some protection must always, even in time of peace, be extended *.

The expence of the civil government, though greater in appearance, is (if we consider the comparative value of money) in effect less than in former periods. The salaries of many offices are in fact less than they were. Many ancient offices have been abolished; and I do not believe that the salary of any one office is become greater, if we take into consideration the different value of money.

The cheapest governments certainly are despotic monarchies, such as *Prussia*, where little state is kept up, and where the subject is obliged to serve the monarch for any allowance he may make him. The governments also of some republics are cheap; provided they are content to live within themselves, and have little concern with other nations. Ancient monarchies, in which from usage great state is maintained, and limited monarchies, in which some degree of state, and some degree of influence is necessary for the purpose of making an impression on the people, are, unavoidably in a certain degree, expensive. It is singu-

* If the number of souls in Britain be taken, and compared with the whole of the revenue, how much will it amount to per *head?* It might be useful to show this: because people have been corrupted by an unfair statement of this sort respecting the imposts in America.

lar, however, that the new republic in America, and the new republic in France, are forced to make the members of their legislatures a daily allowance; without which these republics would not find subjects, who would be at the trouble of giving their attendance for the purpose of making laws for them; which was the case in this country formerly, when we were much poorer than we are at present. In the business of life, there must be some motive to induce people to encounter the fatigues and dangers, to which public situations expose them: and if you wish to have a wise and honourable government, these inducements must be in some degree equal to the talents of the men who are employed. I would only observe farther, that many of the hardest expences which happen under a government, are not such as arise immediately from the government itself, but from the extortions and impositions of subjects on one another. Here it behoves every government to be as vigilant as it can, and to restrain so far as its power goes, and to rectify abuses before they become inveterate. The people are more commonly hurt by the weakness of government, in suffering infringements to be made upon it, than by a just and impartial execution of its laws: on which consideration, the people will find their advantage in the issue, if they unite like wise men and good subjects to strengthen the hands of their own government; though the maxim be contrary to some of the current persuasions of Englishmen.

I have now, Sir, offered to you such of my ideas on the subjects of the time, as are more fit for gentlemen than for the common people. You have a son at the university, and two more who are very forward in school-learning. Pray put these papers into their hands, that they may know how to argue for the pre-

servation of their country. And give them notice to beware of those rascally Frenchmen who attend in many of our schools and seminaries for the teaching of the French language, but are many of them spies and emissaries of republicans, who take the opportunity of recommending their pernicious politics to the young people with whom they are concerned. *Marat* who makes such a figure among the new tyrants of France, was a teacher of the French language at Oxford; and in his character but a pattern of many more. When *Thomas Bull's* first letter was shown to one of these, who teaches in a very respectable seminary, he fell into a violent rage, and pronounced it all to be *Betise! Sottise! stupidity and nonsense.* And why so? Is it not because they, who wish to see this country ruined, hate the principles on which we hope to see it saved. Another of these gentlemen, for the notoriety of his principles, was imprisoned by the boys of a great school; and after he had cried out of the window for his liberty to the people in the street, they made him sing, as well as he could, *God save the King*, before they released him. All these, wherever they are to be found, should now be well looked to: the times demand it: and masters and tutors should admit such only as are known to be of good principle as well as good ability. Let the gentry also be aware of their French servants: for many of them are spies.

We are also called upon to pay some regard to those laws made in support of religion; which the same right honourable gentleman would abolish, who in his printed speech (if it be genuine) objected *high treason* to the first innocent letter of *Thomas Bull* to his *Brother John.* When a piece is overcharged, it is apt to burst in the hand; which actually happened

when the piece was levelled at *Thomas Bull's* letter. Such accidents should be avoided: and it might be a blessing to themselves and their country, if certain gentlemen of high parts, and great popularity, would read more, and talk less; that they may know better what is *true*, and speak *for* it instead of speaking *against* it. There is a wild audacious spirit stirring; which, presuming on a supposed fear in the government to do itself justice, mounts upon a table, to inflame the multitude with incendiary speeches. Blasphemous writings are published with the like audacity; not only breaking, but even menacing the laws, and reflecting upon those who have neglected to put them in execution. Where can such things end but in the ruin of religion? The loss of religion in *France* was the loss of their government, and the chief cause of all their late enormities.

Our nation, Sir, is now in a state of vigilance: but it must continue so. French anarchy was breaking in at the front door of the house. That door is now barred and guarded; but we are far from being sure that another attempt will not be made upon it: and if not that, we are still to take care that it does not enter by stealth at the *other* door of *reformation:* a good thing in good times, but a frightful thing at this time: because no man can say, from its first step, what will be its last. The *meeting of the notables* in France was the beginning: the bloody death of *Louis* their *well-beloved* is the end! If it should please God that any like calamities should fall upon us; let all true men stand their ground: and I second my advice with a story. A worthy friend of *Thomas Bull* was observing to a French emigrant, the son of a nobleman and of late an officer in the army, that in case of a revolution here, we should not be able to fly as they

had done, to any place of refuge: so much the better, said he; you will then be under the necessity of dying with your swords in your hands: and had we resolved to do the same, we might have saved ourselves and our country.

Believe me, sir, with all proper respect,

Your affectionate Relation,

and obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS BULL.

LONDON, *Jan.* 30, 1793.

FABLE OF THE RATS.

TO THE ASSOCIATED FRIENDS OF LIBERTY AT THE FEATHERS TAVERN.

GENTLEMEN,

A LETTER of information *with respect to a design of petitioning for relief in the matter of Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England,* having lately been dispersed among the members of the House of Commons, I sent my copy to a friend, requesting his opinion of it, which I received in the form of

A FABLE.

There was a certain house, into which the rats had made an entrance, by gnawing an hole in the bottom of the main door. It happened that the servants were grown careless, and the traps rusty with disuse; so that the rats were in a manner unmolested. Not satisfied with the scraps of the kitchen, they got into the library to nibble the books: they brought the old family-bible into a very tattered condition: they endangered the house, by burrowing deep into the ground and making themselves nests under some of the main pillars of the fabric. Notwithstanding all these advantages, they were very discontented. There were a few plain-spoken servants in the family, who were apt to cry out, *a rat, a rat,* if any of them were seen in the day-time which gave them great offence; and

they were now and then reminded of their rat-like nature by others, who shewed them the marks of their teeth at the bottom of the door.

It was therefore proposed among themselves, that the only way to spare their pride and improve their character, would be to persuade the heads of the house to take the main door off the hinges, that animals of all kinds might have free access: after which there would be no room for odious distinctions and reflections.

This proposal, though started only by one or two of the forwardest, was readily approved by many others; and their discontent having attained its highest pitch, just at a time when other creatures of the voracious kind were making petitions, they also agreed to make a petition. The difficulty was, how to put a good face upon the business. For as doors are affixed to houses, and porters are stationed on purpose to keep out ill-designing people, to take off the door by a deliberate act, would argue an intention of letting them in. This difficulty, however, did not stop their proceedings. They knew some would overlook it; and others, who were no friends to the family, would pay little regard to it; so it was at length voted, that the following *reasons* for making a petition should be submitted to the consideration of the family.

1st, That they apprehend rats have an instinct proper to themselves, which no power can deprive them of; and, consequently, that they have a natural right to follow it as far as they are able, in opposition to the tyranny of man. Why else was it given?

2dly, That the door they wish to see removed is very ill made, very old fashioned, the work of an ignorant carpenter, who knew nothing of modern mechanics;

and that if doors are necessary (as they are persuaded in their consciences they are not) they could make better themselves. That modest people, seeing the door shut, are shy of coming near the house—that the best friends of the family are thereby kept at a distance, and the interest of the master thereby very greatly hurt—That the nature of rats is now much better understood than formerly—That men and rats are growing every day more and more like one another—That there have been two or three men of very great fame, who are known to have kept the tail of a rat privately in their snuff-boxes to smell to. That so long as the door keeps its place, they are under the necessity of eating their way through it, or of creeping through the hole made heretofore by their progenitors—That so long as they are obliged to act like vermin, they are liable to be reproached with the name of vermin by the most worthless members of the family, the professed adversaries of honesty and liberality—That the hospitality of the house is every where ill-spoken of, on account of the destructive practice of keeping up the door, and setting a porter at it—That weasels, polecats, foxes, and other like useful creatures, who are now obliged to follow the disreputable practice of catching poultry in the out-houses, would be invited to become domestic animals, and tender their services to the family, according to their several persuasions.

3dly, That as the property of the family is already secured by the laws, and the penalties annexed to them, the door is superfluous; it being agreed in every well-ordered community, that it is better to punish an evil than to prevent it. That as there is no danger to be apprehended from any one species of animals except cats; some of the servants of the house having

been terribly scratched by them formerly, and the children bitten by a mad she-cat, who kept the whole family in fear for some time; they are ready to express their abhorrence of the teeth and claws of cats, and to give repeated assurance, as often as they shall be called upon, that they wish to see the whole generation of cats extinct.

It may be objected to this application, that we ought to have waited for the concurrence of the servants who are our superiors in the house. To which we answer; that the grievance of being obliged to eat a way through the door, and subjected to the reproach of so doing, is no grievance of theirs, but peculiar to ourselves in our present unhappy condition. And we think proper to declare, that we have actually held no consultation with our friends in the out-houses; that we have not the least connection with them, and that we have no hope of assistance from any other class of discontented petitioners—That nothing has moved us to appear in this cause but a sense of duty, a love of liberty, and a strict regard to the honour of the family; in which we hope to remain with indulgence and reputation, till our own private sentiments shall get the better of all human prejudices, and our spirit and manners become universal.

RATCHESTER, *Nov.* 27, 1771.

THE

LEARNING OF THE BEASTS.

A FABLE.

FOR THE YEAR 1795.

THE Lion, as king of the forest, issued a proclamation, requiring beasts of every kind to assemble on a certain day, and give him an account of their several opinions and discoveries: "For," said he, "I wish to know better than my ancestors seem to have done, the temper of my subjects and the degree of proficiency to which the capacity of beasts will carry them. That some may not be afraid of others, I shall issue a *noli prosequi* to all beasts of prey; and I promise a safe conduct to all such as are defenceless, that they may be under no fear of attending the assembly. All creatures will be required to speak their minds without reserve, for no advantage will be taken of what they shall think proper to say. And it is expected that every tribe will depute some individual that will speak with ability, and is the best informed of his kind."

On the day appointed the assembly met, and were disposed into a circle by the Jackall. The Tyger began:

"An't please your Majesty, I hold my rank as a beast of prey, and I perceive that the state of nature is

a state of war; for how are tygers to subsist but by making war upon other beasts? If there were to be a peace, what must tygers do? Of the arts of peace they know nothing; they can make no bread, they can drink no milk; their bread is flesh, and their drink is blood. The teeth of a tyger and his claws are offensive weapons; they were made to be used, and their use is in tearing and destroying other creatures; and nature being the sovereign law by which we are directed, there can be no harm in acting up to it. I therefore kill and slay without remorse, and I think myself placed in a very honourable station. Let the ass carry burdens, let the ox draw the plough, let the horse be whipped and driven; I live like a beast of arms, upon plunder: and if tygers were to go in droves, they would drive the world before them; and all inferior creatures would soon be put into a *state of requisition*, to be devoured at our pleasure." Here some of the tame beasts that were present looked very uneasy, and the lion in consequence desired he would carry the subject no farther; so the wolf was ordered to speak next.

"Sir," said he, addressing himself to the Lion, "my honourable friend the Tyger delivered some very noble sentiments, in which I perfectly agree with him. He observed, that if tygers were to associate together they would drive the world. That is the case with us wolves; we go in gangs, and when we are in great want we can attack a whole village: and we hold, that whatever we can catch and overpower we have a right to seize and feed upon. We find the night more convenient for our purposes than the day, and think it was made chiefly for our use. The sun may be admired for his brightness, but he is of much less value to us than the moon. We argue that power and right

are the same thing; and that nature intended we should exercise what power we have. Why else was it given? Exclusive property we utterly declare against: every beast ought to have as much as he can get, and to make his appetites the measure of his conduct. The law of terror is the only law that cannot be contradicted: and if every wolf in the world were to be consulted, your Majesty would find them invariably of my opinion. I am no orator, my temper is rough, and my reasons are short; and having great expectation from the shining abilities of the fox, I beg to be excused from proceeding any farther."

The Fox was then desired to speak, who began as follows:—"I am not a beast of such power as the wolf or the tyger. In the use of power I am exactly of their mind; but it is my way to effect my purposes by policy and cunning; and I can prove the world to be my own, by a set of principles which I have long studied. I allow your Majesty," addressing himself to the lion, "to be a king in fact; but I hold, that all beasts are members of one great and indivisible republic; and that there is by right of nature as much majesty in a fox as in a lion. My father was brought up under a fox who was a profound politician, and began to teach me while I was a cub, that power is inherent in beasts of every kind; and that there was a time, when they all met together and made a lion amongst them by contribution. One gave him his shaggy mane, another gave him a tooth, and another a claw, while others gave him his nerves and his sinews. What they thus gave they have a right to resume, should the lion be found to exercise his authority improperly: and they themselves are judges of the occasion when this happens." He added, "that his theory was greatly to the honour of the lion, because

it was better that he should reign by the kindness of his subjects than by conquest, or by any right and title of his own: and that the idea of the latter was so hateful to every beast of sense and spirit, that if there should be found an individual in the brute creation who should be of a different opinion, the foxes had agreed together to chase him out of society, or accuse him to the lion as a traitor against the natural rights of the brute creation. As the Lion had proclaimed liberty of speech (the birth-right of foxes,) he would proceed so far as to say that there was a scheme in agitation among the wolves, to extinguish the regal character in the lion, and revive it in jack-asses and all other beasts of the lower order; that he had a favourable opinion of the scheme, though it was not yet quite ripe; and he hoped to see the time when foxes should send and receive ambassadors instead of the lion; in which case, he would graciously condescend to give them his tail to kiss."—Here a dog, who was in the assembly, and had been brought up under a good master, began to growl, and could hardly keep himself from falling upon Mr. Reynard; but knowing it was not permitted, he remained quiet till his own turn should come. "I deny," continued the fox, "that there is any such thing as property. He that breeds poultry has no more right to the profit of them on that consideration than I have: and he that plants a vine has no right to the grapes, if I can get at them before they are gathered. The lord of the manor may think to preserve his game; but I take rabbits, hares and pheasants, without asking his leave, and carry them to my cubs, who are brought up to the same way of getting their livelihood. I tell them, as soon as they can understand, that there is but one great blessing in life, which is liberty, and I mean a fox's liberty;

that they had better not exist than be deprived of it; that it is inherent in foxes and inalienable; that it is absolute slavery to be deprived of it; and accordingly, that the alternative to all foxes is, either to be free, or bound with a chain: there is no medium. Foxes therefore maintain, that all creatures are born free and equal; and I make it out thus: they are either born free and equal, or they are born slaves; but they are not born slaves (for what fox was ever born with a chain on?) therefore they are born free and equal. There is indeed no such thing as slavery in the world; the very sound of it makes my blood run cold. I never made a slave, not even of a goose; I love to see them free upon a common, or cackling upon the sea-shore, better than in a farmer's yard; where the barking of a great dog, in the night when I go my rounds, is a detestable noise; and the keeping of dogs is a wicked invention, a base encroachment upon common rights. The dog is a sycophant, who neither eats geese himself, nor will permit me to do it. I love a wild dog, and I am a sort of dog myself; but your mean-spirited rascals, that confine themselves to a yard, are my aversion."—Here the lion observed, that the fox was ingenious and entertaining; but, as rights were common, other beasts would expect their turn, so he ordered the jackall to speak.

"As for me," says the jackall, "I am ready to obey your Majesty's command; but I have no opinion of my own; I recommend myself at court, by falling into the opinions of the time, and of those persons who may be supposed to know more than I do. I have but little force, and not so much policy as my brother, the fox. I believe that the lion has royalty by birth and inheritance, if it is the fashion to believe it; or, that there is no true scheme of government but that

of the fox, founded on liberty and equality; and that the lion has no real and sensible friends but those that derive his power from rats and other beasts, even the lowest of vermin. To be plain, I believe nothing at all; but I say something, because other beasts do. My object is to live in ease and plenty; and if I have the picking of such bones as your Majesty is pleased to leave half eaten, it is all I desire; and you will find me on all occasions obsequious to your will."—"We shall not learn much from you," said the lion; "bid the ox come forward."

"Your Majesty," said the Ox, "has heard many sentiments, subtle and ingenious, on power, liberty, and right; things about which I never gave myself any trouble. Of power I have none; of liberty I desire none; and as to right, I hold that there is no right but from justice, labour, and honesty. I am content to work; my neck was made for the yoke; I am well defended from the weather; and I fare better at the rack and in the pasture, than if I were to provide for myself by any wits of my own. My life would be insupportable to a tyger; but it is nothing to me, because I have an easy, patient temper, which finds no faults, and is not galled and fretted, as the spirit of a wild beast would be with my work. Happiness and misery are chiefly in the mind: it is no mortification to me that I do not eat blood; it is no confinement to me that I cannot prowl about like the wolf, nor spend my nights abroad in doing mischief to other creatures, like the fox. When the labour of the day is over, I return to my stall, with more pleasure than the tyger to his den with his paunch full of blood; I like hay and straw better; and I think I have a happier life on the whole in servitude than I should lead if I were wild on the plains, under continual dread from wolves and

tygers. My station in the world is nearest to that of the farmer, who is one of the most useful members of society; and if he minds his business, and keeps himself sober, is like me free from ambition and corruption."—"Honest friend," said the lion, "I admire thy simplicity and integrity; and if I were not a lion, I would choose to be an ox. But let us hear now what the swine has to say."

"You cannot expect much from me," said the Hog, "who never studied any thing but myself. I have but one maxim, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die*. I aspire to nothing but self-indulgence; and if I have any torment in my mind, it is from the apprehension of being under a state of compulsion. I hate all government, and am incapable of being under direction. As soon as I find which way they are driving me, I go the other way; and if I were to be harnessed, and put into a carriage, I would save myself the trouble of drawing the load, by pushing it backwards. I wish they would plant a field with potatoes, and turn in hogs to root them up at the present season; it would save the trouble of ploughing the land, and be a great improvement in modern agriculture. If there is an island, where the earth produces roots without tillage, and there are no inhabitants but swine, there would I live; it would be a pig's paradise. So far as I am capable of thinking, I see no sense in any scheme but that of the fox, universal liberty and no property; for it is my opinion that every place is free if I can break into it, and that every thing I find there is my own if I can get it. I never did any work in my life but once, when they made me tread mortar under the lash of the cart-whip; but I took care to spoil it so much with my dung, that they never employed me any more. As I am bred for nothing but my flesh and my blood, I

know my life is short, and so I make the most of the present moment. Now you have heard my principles, I have nothing farther to say."

The Lion then required the Dog to speak, and bade him take courage; that he believed him to be an honest fellow, and expected to hear something useful from him. "Sir," said the dog, "your Majesty can form no judgment of a dog's character from the animals of our species, who are wild in the state of nature—a poor uninformed rabble. It is of the greatest advantage to us, that we receive our education under man, which makes us what we are, and has given rise to all the stories which do honour to our character. They say, dogs are by nature impudent; but our education has produced that awe and reverence toward our superiors, which has wholly altered our character. By living under man, I am taught the value of order and obedience; and that one educated dog is worth an hundred wild ones. I find it no hardship to follow my master, and hunt as he orders me; it is the pleasure of my life, and I am well fed for what I do. When I heard the villainous principles of that rascal the fox, I could scarcely refrain from tearing him to pieces. He receive ambassadors! and expect his tail to be kissed! That can never be till my master and all other men are eaten up by the wolves. He loves liberty; so do all thieves; and they have the merit of hating all laws as much as he does. I assert property; I am kept for the guard of it; and I live by partaking of it in common with those to whom it belongs: I would rather lose my life in defence of it, than go sneaking about in the night, as that fellow does, to steal it: but he often meets with his deserts; cunning as he is, he lights upon a trap that bites sharper than he does; and I am delighted when I see a

wall covered with the scalps of foxes, whom the dogs have killed; and I hope it will not be long before I see his head in the same place. The tyger is under a great mistake in supposing there is no law but that of force: it may be the law of tygers; but the law of *justice* and of *self-defence* is the law of men and dogs; and a tyger is justly killed when he invades the life or property of man; nay, he is killed wherever he is met, because it is known that his violence is incorrigible. It has, however, the good effect of driving men into society, that their united strength may defend them against wild beasts: and I myself as well as the rest of my species, should be in continual danger, if we were not retained as assistants to mankind. I am therefore faithful to my master; he and I have one interest; and that rascally fox shall never corrupt my mind with his doctrine of liberty, which if it were put in practice, I can foresee, that we dogs should fight and tear one another to pieces. While we are under man, nothing can hurt us but a want of fidelity, of which we are seldom guilty. Your Majesty will recollect that it has fallen in my way to hear many things, of which other beasts hear nothing; while I have been laying by the fire-side, and seemed to take no notice, I have overheard such things as never came to the ears of your Majesty; but I will trouble you with only one observation, in which the honour of dogs is nearly concerned. Suppose there were thieves besetting a house, to rob and murder the family; and suppose the master of it, to defend his wife and children, should present his gun at the thieves, and be just going to fire; when the house-dog, instead of barking at the common enemy, comes behind his master, and bites his heels; would not that dog be a traitor, and deserve to be hanged? or to have a spit run through his body from his mouth to his tail?—he

would certainly. But, a'nt please your Majesty, there is no such dog; it is not in the nature of dogs to be so unfaithful. This is a sort of wickedness to be found only among our superiors of the human race. When a king is in danger from foreign enemies, who come to plunder and destroy, some men shall be found who come behind his heels, to bite him while he is defending himself; and instead of barking at the rogues, keep up a constant yelp against their master and all his friends. And if instead of being trod upon as vipers, they should not only escape, but receive acclamations, your Majesty will then see that, however dogs and other beasts may be complained of, and avoided, the greatest of rogues and the greatest of fools are to be sought for among the human species. Thank heaven, I was not born to be the dog of any of them! and I pity every poor cur whose fate it is to fall into the hands of such masters. I would rather die than be in their condition."

The Lion thanked the dog for his communication; it was such as he had never heard nor thought of; and he would have been glad to hear more, but time was wearing away, and many of the beasts had far to go: he must therefore call upon the sheep, who began thus:

"I am a plain simple animal, Sir, who have neither the cunning of the fox, nor the sagacity of the dog, and can speak only of such things as occur in my own way of life. I heard with patience what was said by animals of greater parts, who perhaps may find many admirers; I have nothing but plain truth to advance on the other side. The fox may be wise; but I think the badness of his heart has got the better of his wits. It is not my opinion that we beasts, as he says, ever made a lion amongst us. I can as soon believe that

my fleece was borrowed from a bear, or that the shepherd's staff was made of one of my shanks: I know that if I were to try to make a lion, he would be so like a sheep at last that the difference would not be known. How can I arm his mouth, who have no teeth upon my upper jaw? How can I give him a courageous heart, who take to my heels at the barking of a lap-dog? And as for generosity and magnanimity of temper, let the fox consider whether he can furnish it out of his own stock, who comes sneaking in the dark to a hen-roost, and never spared a poor chicken in all his life? My lambs have been often in danger from him and his elder brother the wolf, and would have suffered death and dilaceration if it had not been for the shepherd and his dog; neither should I myself have grown up to be, as I have been, the mother of ten lambs, as white as a lily. Plain fact is my rule; I never trust to my own thoughts, like beasts of the higher order; and therefore I content myself with the ordinary blessings of my situation, under a shepherd who will not see me abused. But woe be unto me when the government of man shall cease, and that of the most worthless of beasts shall rise up in its place! I know I must die and so must all creatures; but I have a better lot than some of those who despise me: the profit of a fleece yearly saves the life of a sheep, which does not save the life of a swine; and it is better at last to die under the hand of man than to lie in a wood, as the fox does, howling and biting an iron trap, which has catched him by the leg as he was running after a pheasant. I never suffer thus: when a maggot finds its way into my back, the crook catches me by the leg, and I am dressed for the sore: my shepherd even breaks the teeth of his dog, that he may not be able to tear my skin. And now, sir, I should have rea-

son to be afraid of many who are in this assembly, but that your Majesty has taken me under your protection, and will provide that I am conducted safe home. The dog spoke with so much goodness and honesty, that I think I can trust myself in his company."

The Lion then spoke for himself:

"BEASTS OF EVERY KIND,

"I commend the loyalty and respect which my subjects have shown to the proclamation I issued for their benefit and my own satisfaction. What has passed upon this occasion may be of use to us all in the recollection; and I think it highly proper that the memory of it should be preserved in some public record."

"An't please your Majesty," said the Monkey, who had never been called upon to speak, "I will write a review; in which the company shall have an exact account of the whole; for which purpose I have been taking notes all the while: it is a great charge I take upon me, and in these days I have many competitors who are catching at the favour of the public; but I shall not be behind the best of them all. The task I know cannot be executed without the greatest candour and liberality, that the public may be acquainted with the real worth of every production; that modest merit may be encouraged and brought forward; falsehood and ignorance exposed; and learning and science fixed upon their true basis; which will be such an advantage to the beasts of this age, as they never enjoyed before.

"I begin with the question, whether your Majesty had power to issue the proclamation, in virtue of which we have all attended this day? and I think it should be put to the vote whether the jackall, who

acted under you, ought not to be called to an account for it.

"Of the tyger I say, We are happy to introduce an author so respectable for his rank and abilities to the notice of the public, and hope one day or other to meet him again, and be better acquainted with him. His sentiments are fine, and distinguish the superiority of his taste and understanding. The rights of nature are not to be controverted; and he has asserted what we think extremely probable, that the state of nature is a state of war; that power is to be used by those that have it; and that every beast may have it, if he can get it. The equality of all creatures is a valuable doctrine. That the ass should be equal to the lion! wonderful! (I'll let my cubs know this as soon as I get home.)

"As to the wolf; wolves we know are under a bad name, and there are such things as wolves in sheep's clothing; but the wolf of this assembly speaks out very fairly and plainly, and we cannot but in justice commend the goodness of his intention. To be sure it was rather bold to say the night is better than the day; but some indulgence is always due to the prejudices of education. That his appetite should be the measure of his conduct; there we cannot quite agree with him, because it may so happen that his appetite may hunger after a monkey; and yet if there is a tree at hand, we have little to be afraid of.

"The fox has fully satisfied us in the opinion we had formed of his great understanding; his method of making a lion out of the limbs and faculties of inferior creatures is extremely ingenious, though it is not quite new; we have met with it before from an old monkey, whose father had been a tame monkey to an English traveller, but escaped to the woods in the

night. That such a sentiment should be hazarded in the presence of the lion is a little extraordinary, but it is a happy proof that the age is an age of liberty; and he hoped never to see the day when foxes and monkeys should be afraid to speak their minds. From the utmost liberties of this kind, the lion had nothing to fear in respect of his government. It had indeed been reported, that the wolves were about to assemble in a body, and join with the tygers in an attempt to take his crown from him; but the alarm was found to be totally without foundation, all raised by the jackall to increase the power of his Majesty's ministers. It would give us pleasure to see the subject of the slave-trade handled by this ingenious author, whose liberal way of thinking, and acute manner of reasoning could not fail to set that matter in a proper light. His wishing to see all geese loose upon a common, is a demonstration of the goodness of his heart.

"In the jackall, the courtliness of his humour, and the wickedness of his designs, constitute him a true pattern of all ministers; and his character is so well known that nothing farther need be said of him, but that he is a scoundrel of a bone-picker, a fit instrument of tyranny and taxation.

"From the ox what can we expect but heaviness and dulness? We are extremely sorry to see such principles as his in this age of illumination; mere old-fashioned stuff, fit only for the days of ghostly ignorance: we rather take him to be a methodist with horns on. What an abject beast, to desire no liberty! Poor creature, he has been brought up in obscurity, and has heard nothing of the late improvements. We would advise him to consider in time that nature never designed him for an author, and that he is quite out of his element;—*optat ephippia*

bos—we never wish to meet this gentleman any more in public.

"To the hog we are disposed to do as much justice as possible, but really his principles are too bad to be openly avowed, and it might have been better if he had kept them to himself. The true critic should preserve an inviolable neutrality, and therefore we do not pronounce that his principles are absolutely wrong in themselves, but we cannot proceed so far as to answer his wishes in recommending them to the world.

"The dog does not want sense, and is to be admired for some of his qualities, particularly that of playing about like a monkey when he is a puppy; but we are afraid his notions have a little tincture of passive obedience, which ought not to be encouraged. The language he uses towards the fox is such as no gentleman should use towards another, and we rather suspect that he is the dog of some tory master. If the story he tells of men biting the heels of government be really true (but we are inclined to think it a ministerial fabrication), it was improper to tell it; as it may tend, in the eyes of bigotted ignorant people, to lessen freedom of speech in some great assemblies; and a few more such stories might expose mankind to the contempt of the brute creation.

"The sheep is, as we should expect, a poor silly animal, who knows little of the world, and is below the spirit of true enquiry. What an argument! that because it may be good for sheep to be under a shepherd, it is therefore good for all creatures to be under authority. Are monkeys, the free inhabitants of the woods, to be owned like a flock of sheep? A fine sight indeed! to see them driven bare a—d into a fold, to lay their tails upon a turnip-ground. But the sheep did not see far enough to be aware of this ab-

surdity; and we suppose she would have wolves under a shepherd too. We must be so candid indeed as to allow, that she does not positively affirm this; but we shrewdly suspect it was intended: and then the wolves must first apply to a felt-monger to provide themselves with sheep skins: thus we should reform backwards with a witness. But enough of this uninteresting and unentertaining performance.

"I have now surveyed the whole, and expect your Majesty's approbation. If your highness should be pleased to convene, or the friends of liberty should convene for themselves, in virtue of a prior right, an assembly of this kind once a month, I shall then be ready to write a *Monthly Review*."

On Monday, September 30, 1771, will be published,

(To be continued Monthly)

A NEW WORK, ENTITLED

THE CANDID REVIEW,

CONTAINING

A FAIR AND IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF ALL WORKS OF DIVINITY AND LITERATURE.

BY A SOCIETY OF JEWS.

THE Editors of this work hope for a preference to other periodical publishers on the following considerations.

1. As they belong to no party of men who call themselves *Christians,* neither to the *Socinians, Arians, Quakers,* nor *Cameronians,* they are less interested against the doctrines of the established church, than those who have some private system to contend for. They are sensible that the scheme of establishing Judaism in England would be absurd and desperate; therefore they shall make no advances toward it, but suffer the evidences of the Christian doctrines to stand as they are represented in the works of the learned.

2. As no Jew is in any danger of being called upon to subscribe the articles of the Church of England, no invidious remarks need be expected against that article of the present discipline. If the reasonings of any writer on the side of the church should be unanswerable, and the objections of the other part weak

and frivolous, their language insolent and clamorous, this is nothing to us; and therefore we shall have no temptation to depart from our impartiality.

3. As we shall never use any *Christian liturgy*, we shall not think it necessary to extol such pamphlets as recommend alterations in the Liturgy of the Church of England.

4. As we are known to be very sincere believers of the Old Testament, there will be no reason to suspect us of recommending *Deism* in opposition to Moses and the prophets.

We might insist on many other advantages, which fairly intitle us to the first place in the esteem of the public: but we think these are sufficient to recommend our projected *Review* to all such readers as have any concern for the interest of Revelation in general, and the faith of the Church of England in particular.

Printing-Office in Duke's-place,
July 19, 1771.

THE MORAL CHARACTER

OF

THE MONKEY.

A GENTLEMAN, whose premises were infested by a large breed of sparrows, said they were *birds of no principle.* Of all monkies it may be said, with much more propriety, that they are beasts of no principle; for they have every evil quality, and not one good one. They are saucy and insolent; always making an attempt to bully and terrify people; and biting those first who are most afraid of them. An impertinent curiosity runs through all their actions. They never can let things alone, but must know what is going forward. If a pot or a kettle is set upon the fire, and the cook turns her back, the monkey whips off the cover to see what she has put into it; even though he cannot get at it without setting his feet upon the hot bars of the grate.

Mimickry is another of the monkey's qualities. Whatever he sees men do, he must affect to do the like himself. He seems to have no rule of his own, and so is ruled by the actions of men or beasts; as weak people follow the fashion of the world, whether it be good or bad.

With regard to its offspring, the monkey hath little more than the foolish part of parental affection. The mother often dandles her young one till she has stifled

it, or wearied it out of its life; and holds out her ugly brat for every body to see and admire it; as if, for its beauty, it were the wonder of the animal creation.

No monkey has any sense of gratitude, (*ingratum qui dixerit, omnia dixit,*) but takes his victuals with a snatch, and then grins in the face of the person that gives it him, lest he should take it away again: for he supposes that all men will snatch away what they can lay hold of, as all monkies do.

Through an invincible selfishness, no monkey considers any individual but himself, as the poor cat found to her cost, when the monkey burned her paws with raking his chesnuts out of the fire. They can never eat together without quarrelling and plundering one another. As the Poet said of mankind in the state of nature—*vivitur ex rapto*—so are all Monkies possessed by a spirit of rapine: and are as cunning in contriving a theft, as they are nimble and dexterous in the performance.

Every monkey delights in mischief, and cannot help doing it when it is in his power. If any thing he takes hold of can be broken or spoiled, he is sure to find the way of doing it: and he chatters with pleasure when he hears the noise of a China vessel smashed to pieces upon the pavement. If he takes up a bottle of ink, he empties it upon the floor. He turns your sand-box upside down, or sifts it into the ink-horn. He unfolds all your papers, and scatters them about the room; and what he cannot undo he tears to pieces: and it is wonderful to see how much of this work he will do in a few minutes when he happens to get loose.

Though a monkey has never been considered as a fit subject for a Biographer, yet tradition has preserved the history of some of their exploits, which are curious

and characteristic: but the event is generally unfortunate. Every body has heard of the monkey, whose curiosity led him to the mouth of a cannon to see how it went off; when he paid for his peeping with the loss of his head. In a ship where a relation of mine was an officer, while the men were busy in fetching powder from below, and making cartridges, a monkey on board took up a lighted candle, and ran down to the powder-room to see what they were about: but was happily overtaken just as he got to the lanthorn, and thrown out at the nearest port-hole into the sea with the lighted candle in his hand. Another lost his life by the spirit of mimickry. He had seen his master shaving his own face: and at the first opportunity took up the razor to shave himself, and made shift to cut his throat.

When the wild monkies have escaped to the top of the trees, the people below who want to catch them shew them the use of gloves, by putting them on and pulling them off repeatedly; and when the monkies are supposed to have taken the hint, they leave plenty of gloves upon the ground, having first lined them with pitch. The monkies come down, put on the gloves, but cannot pull them off again; and when they are surprised and betake themselves to the trees as usual, they slide backwards upon their hams and are taken.

A monkey who had seen his mistress upon her pillow in a night-cap, which at her rising she pulled off and hung upon a chair, puts on the cap, lays his head upon the pillow, and by personating the lady made himself ten times more frightful and ridiculous; as awkward people do, when they *ape* their superiors, and affect a fashion which is above their sphere.

Another ran away with a basket of live partridges, and when he was pursued, escaped to the top of the house; where he managed the lid of the basket in such

a dexterous manner as to let the birds fly off by one at a time. When they were all gone, he got into the basket himself; but the basket falling with him before he had time to do as the partridges did, his bones were broken when he came to the ground.

A mischievous disposition is always inclined to persecution. There are minds, whose greatest pleasure it is to ride and teaze and whip the minds of other people. A late friend and neighbour of mine in the country kept a monkey, who took to riding his hogs, especially one of them, which he commonly singled out as fittest for his use; and leaping upon its back with his face toward the tail, he whipped it unmercifully upon the hind quarters, and drove it about, till it could run no longer. The hogs lived under such continual terrors of mind, that when the monkey first came abroad in the morning, they used to set up a great cry at the sight of him. Swine are vile creatures for greediness and uncleanness, and so stubborn withal, that when they *take an opinion* (as the Quaker said of them) the d——l cannot get it out of their heads again; but they are as far below the monkey, as the stupid sot is below the sharper and the ruffian: and even an hog, at the mercy of a monkey, is an object of compassion.

A nobleman once well known upon the turf, had a wild horse whom nobody could ride. I know not what your lordship can do with him (said one) but to put the monkey upon his back. So they put on a pad to the horse, and set the monkey upon it with a switch in his hand, which he used upon the horse, and set him into a furious kicking and galloping: but Pug kept his seat, and exercised his switch. The horse lay down upon the ground; but when he threw himself on one side, the monkey was up upon the other:

he ran into a wood with him, to brush him off: but if a tree or a bush occurred on one side the monkey slipped to the other side: till at last the horse was so sickened and fatigued and broken spirited, that he ran home to the stable for protection: when the monkey was removed, and a boy mounted him, who managed the horse with care, and he never gave any trouble afterwards.

In all the actions of the monkey, there is no appearance of any thing good or useful, nor any species of evil that is wanting in them. They are indeed like to mankind; they can ride a pig as a man rides a horse, or better, and are most excellent jockeys; but after all, they are only like the worst of the human species, whom no education hath or can correct. If all the qualities of the monkey are put together, they constitute what is properly called *ill-nature*: and if any person would know what an ill-natured man is, he must find one who is artful, insolent, selfish, pragmatical, rapacious, mischievous, and tyrannical: that man is a monkey to all intents and purposes; with the addition of reason, which makes his character much worse; and the loss of religion and conscience, which is worst of all; for without these reason is rather a disadvantage; as no monkey can possibly be managed but by being kept continually in fear, so all laws, restraints, and penalties, amongst mankind, are made for those who are most like to monkies.

THE END.

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